Daily Report

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PSSh Chairman Speaks on Government Crisis

AU1212161791 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Our correspondent Sokol Perihati reports that Socialist Party [PSSh] Chairman Fatos Nano gave a news conference in the Palace of Congresses' Press Center at 1200 today about the political situation after the government crisis and about his visit to Italy. Reporters from different newspapers, the radio and television, ATA, and foreign reporters and diplomats attended.

At the start of the news conference, Mr. Nano said that our country needs stability now more than ever. The PSSh did not cause the government crisis. We unreservedly supported the government, which has been the most successful government since the liberation. We reaffirm the stand of the First PSSh National Conference on certain fair demands of the opposition, such as early elections, etc. In this connection, we have not had, and still do not have, any political prejudices. The alternative of solving the current government crisis by forming a government of nonparty intellectuals seems to us the best one. The PSSh was asked to form a new government, but we did not accept this solution, not out of weakness or reluctance, but because we think that no single political force can govern Albania at the moment. Public opinion will decide the question of the government through free elections. We are open in all our dealings. We are for the rule of law.

Nano later said that the PSSh has no preconception about the date for new elections, but we want to go to the polls having created the minimal and necessary conditions for the elections to be in full accordance with international standards.

Nano went on to say that the PSSh does not labor under monism and does not wish any other political force to do so, either. As for problems in international relations, Nano emphasized that the PSSh favors the institutionalization of the international documents drawn up within the framework of the CSCE and the Helsinki Charter. We think of borders as bridges connecting neighboring peoples, so that everybody may enjoy the same rights, regardless of their level of development. We want political forces to give concrete solutions to current problems.

Nano then replied to reporters' questions. Asked whether the PSSh will govern the country on its own if it wins a majority in the new elections, Nano said that we favor a coalition government with other political forces. At present, the PSSh and the Democratic Party [PD] are the main forces. We will continue to advocate the need for joint government. I am not convinced that a coalition between the PSSh and the PD is impossible. The PSSh is able to assume various government portfolios, because it has qualified people.

Asked what the PSSh thinks about the Communist Party, Nano said that his view of the Communist Party and other parties does not involve any political prejudice. For us, the Communist Party is a party of the extreme left.

Another question stated that the writer Ismail Kadare has suggested in an interview that the PSSh should temporarily withdraw from the political stage. In this connection, Nano said that we must not persist in the old practice of removing political forces from the scene. I respect Ismail Kadare, but I do not know how well he is informed about democratic processes in Albania. I think that these democratic processes require a socialist Left.

Asked whether it is not paradoxical that the First PSSh National Conference stated that the 10th Albanian Workers Party Congress was also the day on which the PSSh was founded, and that, although the PSSh was created in June and could not take part in the 31 March elections, the party still retains the Albanian Workers Party's seats in parliament, Nano said that we are living in a time of paradoxes, but also of a mania to make paradoxes out of everything.

Nano also answered other questions from reporters.

Democratic Party Holds Anniversary Rally 12 Dec

AU1212174191 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1700 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] The Democratic Party [PD], the leading opposition party, held a rally marking its first anniversary in Democracy Square in Tirana at 1400 today. Several thousand people took part, mainly the party's members and supporters. Arben Imami, deputy chairman of the party's Managing Council, opened the rally.

Professor Dr. Sali Berisha, the party's chairman, greeted the rally on the party's behalf. The first words at this rally, he said, must be addressed to the students, the vanguard of democracy in Albania, because it was they, led by Azem Hajdari, who anticipated the arrival of this day and paved the way for democracy in Albania. He then spoke about the support that many others who aspired to freedom and democracy and opposed the dictatorship gave to the student movement. He later spoke about the major role the party has played in establishing and strengthening democracy in many areas of the country's life.

[Begin Berisha recording] The PD comes before you and the entire Albanian nation today in the conviction that, in its year of work, it has achieved many of your dreams, hopes, and ideals. It has succeeded in restoring to Albanians their priceless freedom, personal freedom. There are no more political prisoners, and nobody is persecuted for his opinions. This is our greatest achievement, for us, our children, and the coming generations. [end recording]

He later spoke about the PD's alliance with other opposition parties for the eradication of communism. In connection with the PD's participation in the National

Stability Government, Dr. Berisha said that the party acted on the basis of the entire nation's interests, contributing through its ministers to the preparation for the economic reform and Albania's opening to the world.

[Begin Berisha recording] However, the PD noticed that the economic reform could not be realized because of the intolerance and antireform attitudes of the communist state structures. It noticed that democratic processes were slackening, that anarchy was taking the place of public order, that the state was paralyzed at all levels, and that credit from abroad was not arriving, because the communists were in power. Following the demand of the entire people, it therefore, without delay, made its historic decision to withdraw from the National Stability Government. [cheers] [end recording]

Trusting in an opposition victory in the coming elections, Dr. Berisha promised that the PD will guarantee to fulfill the aspirations of all levels of society for freedom, democracy, work, and prosperity.

Azem Hajdari, deputy chairman of the Managing Council and leader of last December's student movement, then greeted the rally. Republican Party Chairman Sabri Godo greeted the rally on his party's behalf. Social Democratic Party Secretary Lisen Bashkurti also greeted the rally. Greetings were also delivered on behalf of the Association of Former Political Prisoners and the Democratic Alliance of Albanian Women.

Assembly Debates Deputies' Immunity, Military Bill

AU1012154091 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] At today's first session, the People's Assembly considered the request of the Investigator-General's Office for the removal of the immunity of Deputies Adil Carcani and Shane Korbeci.

Presidency Chairman Kastriot Islami presented this request that, among other things, points out that Deputy Carcani, violating his authority as deputy chairman and chairman of the Council of Ministers, issued written instructions permitting the abuse of large amounts of state property, while Deputy Shane Korbeci, as foreign trade minister from 1982 to 1991, abused his post by issuing instructions for the release of foreign currency for use abroad, paid for in cash leks. In both cases, the purpose of this expenditure was to create privileges for the blockmen [bllokmene, former Albanian Workers Party leaders], and their families.

In these circumstances, the request of the Investigator-General's Office concludes, Deputies Carcani and Korbeci are under suspicion. On the basis of the Law on the Main Constitutional Provisions, the request asks for the agreement of the People's Assembly for criminal charges to be laid against them.

As the session continued, deputies approved almost unanimously the removal of Deputy Carcani's immunity. Deputy Shane Korbeci then spoke and explained his responsibility as a former minister for the expenditure incurred, stressing that he acted in accordance with the law as it then stood and under the pressure of the blockmen. He pointed out that he had no connection with the blockmen's exploits and abuses. There were speeches for and against the removal of Deputy Korbeci's immunity. The Assembly approved the removal of his immunity by a majority of votes.

After the recess, the second session considered the bill on military service in the Republic of Albania's Armed Forces. During the discussion of the bill in principle, Deputies Dokle, Curri, and Barka spoke on behalf of the parliamentary groups. The latter, also dwelling on parliament's role in the present situation, suggested that the president should be asked to solve the government crisis as soon as possible, and that the Assembly should consider immediately the president's most recent decree. He pointed out that at this moment the government's foreign policy should be controlled by the parliament.

Having approved the bill in principle, the deputies then examined it article by article. This bill has borne in mind the experience and achievements so far in the performance of military service in our Armed Forces, the demands embodied in the Law on the Main Constitutional Provisions, and the legislation in various Western and neighboring countries.

In comparison with the present law, the bill defines more precisely the main duties of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Albania, and prescribes a formula for the military oath that previously did not exist. After the approval of the first eight articles of the bill in question, the session ended, to resume at 1700 this afternoon.

Deputy Economic Minister Views Reform Prospects

AU1012204791 Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian 7 Dec 91 p 40

[Interview with Gramoz Pashko, deputy prime minister in charge of economic reform, by Teodor Misha; place and date not given: "Our Patience Is Decreasing, Too"]

[Text] Albania, a country that has been very rigid for a long time, is also advancing toward a market economy and the world today. This trend is reflected in this country's new IMF and World Bank membership. We asked Gramoz Pashko about his views regarding a possible breakout for this country, struggling with insolvency and general shortages deriving from a backward economy.

[Misha] You returned from Bangkok in October. You returned from there a winner. What does the new IMF and World Bank membership represent for Albania? How much of this can you already use?

[Pashko] Albania's acceptance in the IMF and the World Bank is a great success from every viewpoint, the greatest success for a government that would like to shift to a market economy from a centrally-directed economy through its economic reform. By joining the aforementioned institutions, it has become possible for Albania to integrate itself into the world's economic and financial system. I hope the IMF will support us in solving our foreign trade and balance problems and in stabilizing our currency and making it convertible later, and in creating a modern financial system. We also hope that the World Bank will help us to obtain major foreign investments that are essential for Albania.

[Misha] Concretely, what credits do you expect from the IMF and the World Bank, and for what purposes?

[Pashko] We urgently need reserve credits to settle our balance of payments. This year, our exports have not covered our import needs. As for other concrete areas, I can only speak about general principles today. Naturally, we can only speak about economic sectors in which we get the quickest reimbursement. However, we still need exact calculations to be able to find out the extent to which we can make use of the IMF aid and the EC support. The EC promised that, if we act according to the program worked out by the IMF, the EC might supplement the missing credits.

[Misha] Because a lot depends on confidence, it is a big question how the outside world views the reform process in Albania, a reform process mainly connected with your name. As the main architect of this reform, what do you think is the most important thing worth stressing regarding this reform?

[Pashko] This reform is made up of three elements, namely stabilization, liberalization, and privatization. These three elements are closely connected with the creation of a market, and this means that we hope that stabilization would create the conditions in which a market is capable of functioning. As a first step, we need to eliminate all the shortages inherited from the past and deriving from the current crisis and to create a balance between state budget, and supply and demand. All this means a struggle to limit the amount of money in circulation. We can only think of liberalization, namely the creation of a free market activity for individuals and ventures, once we achieve this balance on a macroeconomic level.

[Misha] All this sounds attractive as a model, but not for everyone. You are often criticized, and not only by the opposition. Can you convince them of anything at least in favor of creating a relative freedom of movement? It is particularly interesting that you and Prime Minister Ylli Bufi—whose Socialist Party attacks you most—seem to understand each other well.

[Pashko] In my opinion, everyday politics should not affect the economic reform. This is a long-term strategic goal, and I think that political parties should not bring their internal conflicts into the economic reform. As for our understanding with the prime minister, I think that the party that supports him has not yet understood the program that helped Bufi become prime minister.

[Misha] You now have a very short respite in domestic politics. How much time will this new IMF and World Bank membership guarantee you? In addition to the hoped-for modest support, Albania's IMF and World Bank membership primarily serves the goal of strengthening the confidence of other creditors and investors. However, as we see it, there has been extremely little foreign business interest in Albania so far.

[Pashko] If I were a foreign investor, I would naturally be very cautious about a possible investment project in Albania. This country continues to carry the bad image and lack of credibility that developed in the course of the previous government's activity. The contradiction lies in the fact that politics and the economy are only capable of building confidence slowly and step by step, while we need capital coming into this country as a result of this confidence right now. Unfortunately, our reserves of patience are also decreasing. Regaining confidence is an uphill struggle. Although I am accused a lot because of all this, I continue my "trips," even if these trips do not bring money immediately.

[Misha] Tangible results would obviously disarm your opponents. When do you expect such results?

[Pashko] I think that the processes that have started now will become ripe in the first half of next year, and Albania will be able to advance on a market economy road in one and a half years. Besides, the way I see it now, a full reorganization of our economy will take at least three to five years.

[Misha] You are a politician, and you must make a lot of promises that must be kept. Would you have the courage to do this? For example, what do you promise for December 1992?

[Pashko] I think that the food market will stabilize, and the first stage of privatization will be in full swing in one year, and I also think that the current confidence crisis will subside. However, there will still be enough danger because, as the example of Poland and the CSFR shows, we must fight a seven-headed monster. Once we solve a problem, new ones emerge like fresh mushrooms.

Cabinet Approves Documents on Ukraine Ties

AU1212151391 Sofia BTA in English 1421 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Sofia, December 12 (BTA)—After its decision last week to recognize the Ukraine's independence and establish diplomatic relations with it, the Bulgarian Government today approved three draft documents on Bulgarian-Ukrainian cooperation: a protocol on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and the Ukraine, a consular convention and a declaration on the principles and prospects of Bulgarian-Ukrainian cooperation.

The Ukraine's foreign minister and, later on, its prime minister, are expected to arrive in Sofia to discuss the documents.

Kintex Arms Company Director on Weapons Trade

AU1212153691 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 7-8 Dec 91 p 6

[Interview with Anton Saldzhiyski, Kintex director general, by Venelina Gocheva; place and date not given: "Local Conflicts Again Absorb Many Weapons, Kintex Also Sells a Little to the United States"]

[Text] [Gocheva] Mr. Saldzhiyski, who exactly in the country has given you official permission to trade in weapons and ammunition?

[Saldzhiyski] Kintex and the Main Engineering Administration have licenses. It is also envisaged that the new Armtek Association, which is waiting to be registered, will be given permission to trade with restricted responsibility. This is an association of manufacturers and traders from the defense complex, established with government permission. A special government commission on weapons and ammunition production and trade issues export authorizations.

[Gocheva] Is it true that private Bulgarian companies are involved in weapons dumping at the moment on the foreign market?

[Saldzhiyski] If this has happened, it is illegal. Private companies at present do not have licenses.

[Gocheva] What will happen, nevertheless, if private companies enter the arms trade?

[Saldzhiyski] Perhaps in a year's time, this will be the norm. However, at the moment, when defense production is state owned and is envisaged to remain so, it is not advantageous for the arms trade to be in too many hands. If too many traders appear, the price of Bulgarian weapons will fall.

[Gocheva] There are rumors that Bulgaria trades weapons on the black market worldwide.

[Saldzhiyski] That is ridiculous. There are official markets with official deliveries of arms and ammunition ordered through the defense ministries of specific countries to meet their needs. Kintex is not involved in smuggling. The black market may favor the private trader who sells 100-200 submachine guns, but that is nothing. It is inexplicable that there are still suspicions about Kintex. These arose from the state enforced taboo on information concerning arms deals. There was a similar negative attitude toward the Hungarian Tekhnica and Czech Omnipol companies, but it gradually disappeared. Fortunately none of our partners backed out of deals, but probably we lost potential new clients.

[Gocheva] Nevertheless, Kintex's name was mixed up in the incident a month and a half ago, when the Cypriot boat Cape Maleas was detained by the Turkish authorities.

[Saldzhiyski] This was our official delivery to the harbor. After that, the arms are the concern of our client. The Turkish customs officials detained the boat's captain, who obviously claims that it was a matter of a misunderstanding between him and the authorities. This incident did not deserve so much attention, and the idea that most smuggling went on through the Bosporus was ridiculously blown out of proportion.

[Gocheva] Mr. Saldzhiyski, during recent months, have any Bulgarian arms gone to Yugoslavia?

[Saldzhiyski] No. Right at the beginning of the conflict we adopted a tacit restriction. Indirect requests for arms deals were made to us by sources from Croatia and Slovenia, but we declined them.

[Gocheva] Do you sense fresh activity in the arms market at the moment?

[Saldzhiyski] The state of the market is not at its best, despite the fact that it is coming out of the sales depression that began somewhere after 1985. Irrespective of the settling of many conflicts that absorbed a great deal of weapons, a lull has not set into the world arms trade. Local conflicts are fiercer now and a certain increase in sales can be felt.

[Gocheva] What, at the moment, is the hit in the arms market?

[Saldzhiyski] There is no hit. Different clients seek weapons according to their financial capabilities and national security doctrines. However strange it is, not only American but also Russian aircraft have been in great demand recently, especially those models that the Russians did not offer for export until recently, like the SU-29 and MIG-31, for example. Large tanks, antimissile systems of the sort used in the Gulf, and means of anti-aircraft defense are sought after.

[Gocheva] What type of clients does Kintex have?

[Saldzhiyski] Average and poor. We are now trying our luck in acquiring richer partners. The Arab countries,

Africa, and Asia are the traditional consumers of Bulgaria's arms production. This year we managed to export a very small amount to the United States and England.

[Gocheva] How much does the state make from this trade?

[Saldzhiyski] A great deal.

[Gocheva] We are talking about six figure profits, are we not?

[Saldzhiyski] It is ridiculous to talk about six figure numbers in our line of business. One deal alone is bigger than that. According to the information I have, nobody's exports are greater than Kintex's this year. Figures from the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations used to be quoted, and a classification showing export performance used to be produced. For years on end, we headed this classification and had one competitor, Khimimport.

[Gocheva] Does the state help your profitable business?

[Saldzhiyski] The state does not take any notice of us at all, but I also do not need subsidies. It is rather the state that needs us because we pay sizable taxes and the budget must be satisfied. The taxes are tolerable for us, but for new firms that are taking their first steps and are having to invest they are heavy.

Zhelev Congratulates SDS Rally Participants

AU1212162091 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 9 Dec 91 p 1

[Message from President Zhelyu Zhelev to participants in the rally of the Union of Democratic Forces, marking the union's second anniversary, held in Sofia on 8 December: "Have Confidence in Your Own Strength"]

[Text] I address you and the Bulgarian people, not as president and not as one of the founders of the Union of Democratic Forces, but as an ordinary citizen who, together with all of you, lived under totalitarian dictatorship and was deprived of the most elementary human rights and freedoms.

Two years are a short period of time, but we Bulgarians are already enjoying the fruits of democracy that are the basis of material prosperity and intellectual progress in all developed countries. We have introduced a multiparty system of government, separation of powers, freedom of the individual, freedom of speech, and press, freedom to hold rallies and form associations, the right of every citizen to select his place of residence and place of work, the right to shape his own private life, and the right to determine his personal fate. All these things were part of the declaration we adopted at our first rally, which was held in this very place on 18 November 1989.

In pointing out all these achievements of the democratic process, I cannot fail to mention the negative aspects that are accompanying it, such as the deterioration of the living standard affecting a major part of our population, the fanning of inter-ethnic tension by some political forces, and the growing crime rate.

I am profoundly convinced, nevertheless, that in a democratic system, the peace-loving spirit, the natural intelligence, the initiative, and industriousness of our people will be stronger and capable of overcoming the difficulties.

The most characteristic feature of democracy, however, is the opportunity for every individual to discover his own vocation and to play his appropriate role in society. I believe that the time is not far ahead when every one of us will have this opportunity, because there is no alternative to democracy—it is the preliminary condition for success and it is embodiment of success.

We shall succeed—as long as you have confidence in your own strength!

Signed: Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, citizen of the Republic of Bulgaria.

BNDP Nominates Popov, Genchev for Elections

AU1212150991 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] We believe that Dimitur Popov and Khristo Genchev are the most serious rivals to Zhelyu Zhelev and Blaga Dimitrova in the presidential elections. This is how Luchezar Stoyanov, leader of the Bulgarian National Democratic Party [BNDP], replied to our reporter's question. Why did the party, after declaring its skeptical attitude toward the elections, nonetheless proceed to nominate its own candidate? According to Mr. Stoyanov, the Popov-Genchev team does not represent narrow party interests, but it is essentially a national alternative to the Blue versus Red game, and the BNDP representatives are pleased that they succeeded in convincing the two gentlemen to be candidates for the elections.

Sofia BSP Council Elects New Leadership

AU1212131591 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 9 Dec 91 pp 1-2

[Dora Chichkova report: "Sofia BSP Organization Elects New Leader in Preparing for Congress"]

[Text] The Second Accountability-Election Conference of the Sofia City Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Organization, which ended in the late hours of 7 December, elected Aleksandur Marinov to the post of chairman. Vladimir Vladimirov Topencharov was the other candidate, but he failed to win by 80 votes. The former leader Georgi Bliznashki did not participate in the competition.

The changes connected with the ideological renewal of the Sofia party organization are slow and painful, Bliznashki pointed out in his accountability report. Some of the Socialists have difficulties in parting with communist delusions, he stated. Despite this, the prevailing trend is

the readiness to accept the values of democratic socialism, both in evaluating current political events and in adopting new standards of behavior.

In the capital, the BSP is losing its position among the working class—this is one of the alarming facts stated at the conference. The exodus of the scientific, technical, artistic, and creative intelligentisa from the Socialist Party is also considerable.

The BSP Sofia City Council assessed the results of the parliamentary elections in Sofia as an honorable defeat. The results considerably exceeded the figures forecast in public opinion polls preceding the elections. The loss of voters, compared with the 1990 elections, was less significant than the BSP losses on a nationwide scale.

The development of an alternative left-wing policy in the Sofia City community is currently the main task of the BSP local organization. Programs and initiatives dealing with the unemployment problem, housing policy, and the protection of law and order are expected to be the focus of the BSP city councillors.

BSP Chairman Aleksandur Lilov, in addressing the conference, promised that the forthcoming BSP Congress will be a reform congress. He pointed out that he assumes the responsibility for the parliamentary election results and that he will specify his responsibilities according to the evaluation of the congress. In the context of the current processes under way in the East European countries and the Soviet Union, however, our achievements should not be underestimated, Lilov stated. We should by no means underestimate the confidence in the BSP. This was expressed by one third of the Bulgarian electorate in voting for our party, he added.

At the present stage of the changes in the BSP, our party needs an effective and much more strongly united leadership, Aleksandur Lilov stressed. One cannot trust a party to govern society when it is incapable of ruling itself, he said. Lilov is convinced that the congress will elect a new leadership in which the spirit of teamwork, should prevail along with open debate.

* * *

The controversial tone also prevailed in the municipal accountability-election conferences that took place throughout the country, our DUMA local correspondents report. The Shumen Socialists stressed the problems of BSP policy on a national scale, but they did not pay enough attention to their specific work on a local scale. In Lom, the participants in the local conference concentrated their discussion on the analysis of the election results and on the role of the BSP under the new circumstances. The Sliven Party organization criticized its own role and shortcomings in the election campaign and pointed out that this should a lesson for its future activities in public life. The Mikhaylovgrad Socialists soberly assessed their losses in the local elections for the mayor and city councillors and admitted the alienation of the party from nonaffiliated citizens and young people. The Burgas Conference discovered shortcomings in the functioning of the organization under present-day conditions.

All local BSP conferences devoted attention to the important and serious problems of the BSP in its role as an opposition party, to its structural organization, to the activities of the BSP Supreme Council, and the other leading organs, to the party's parliamentary activities, to the symptoms of a certain isolation, and so forth.

Energetic opposition to the bill on the confiscation of party property and against the drastic methods of solving a problem, which thousands of rank-and-file party members are ready to cope with on merit, was voiced at the local party conferences.

Podkrepa Declaration Supports Arsenal Strike

AU1212165091 Sofia PODKREPA in Bulgarian 9 Dec 91 p 1

[Declaration of the Confederative Council of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation on the strike at the Arsenal Military Plant issued in Sofia on 9 December]

[Text] After acquainting itself with the information on the strike action at the Arsenal State Company, given to it by the strike committee, and recognizing the complex and volatile situation in the region, the Confederative Council of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation resolved:

—To support the just demands of the strikers at the Arsenal Company and draw the government's attention to the fact that the threat to mobilize the strikers is, in essence, a lockout and represents a blatant violation of national and international labor legislation.

—To instruct the Executive Council to mediate on starting and holding negotiations between the interested ministries and strikers.

Confederative Council of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation

Restitution of Nationalized Property May Begin

AU1212141491 Sofia BTA in English 1338 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Sofia, December 12 (BTA)—Yesterday parliament gave the green light to restitution by passing an act on the restoration of ownership over shops and other premises. Small restitution can start immediately. In 1975 owners of small shops, warehouses and workshops were finally forced to sell them to the state for after having received very low rents for years on end. In 1975 there were destroyed—though not physically—the last private owners in Bulgaria.

No damages will be caused to natural persons because the shops, workshops and warehouses were run by

"socialist organizations" which bought them in 1975. According to the new act, within a year former owners should refund the money they received in 1975.

According to experts, small restitution will affect some 100,000 Bulgarians.

However, there are also obstacles before small restitution. Some of the shops and warehouses were leased a year or two ago. The act passed yesterday does not provide any solution to this problem.

Small restitution will be followed by another similar process. Mr. Aleksandur Dzherov MP [member of parliament] of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), chief of the Legislative Committee, recently submitted a bill on the restitution of large-size urban property which was confiscated in 1948. Under this act former owners will be restored their property confiscated under the Act on State Monopoly Over Tobacco (1947), the Act on State Monopoly Over Petroleum Products (1948), the Act on Monopoly Over Alcohol and Sweetened Alcoholic Beverages and Trade in Fruit Brandies and Wine (1947), the Act on the Nationalization of Private Industrial and Mining Enterprises (1947), the Act on the Film Industry (1948), the Act on Book Publishing (1947), the Decree on the Confiscation of Food Storage Facilities (1952). Dwellings, warehouses, shops, private cinema halls, business premises and other buildings were nationalized in a year or two.

"The purpose of the ruling party was to confiscate the property of the Bulgarian citizens and to make them completely dependent on the state and the authorities," Mr. Dzherov pointed out among other motives.

'Mortal Danger' to Freedom of Press Warned

AU1212115891 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 6 Dec 91 p 1

["TRUD Appeals to World Trade Union and Journalist Community for Solidarity"]

[Text] Dear Colleagues,

The mortal danger for the newly acquired freedom of the press in Bulgaria prompts us to appeal for your help and solidarity! Our daily TRUD, the largest independent daily in Bulgaria, faces the danger of being shut down on the basis of an upcoming bill of the National Assembly on confiscating the property of the independent trade unions. It is an absurd situation when a parliament dominated by the democratic forces tries to do what the oppressive communist regime tried and failed to do in the past—to silence a major and critical national trade union newspaper! Obviously, all political forces in Bulgaria cannot forgive our newspaper's "mortal sin" of being an independent publication!

However, we declare that we will defend our right to independence by all possible means! Better to be shut down than kowtow!

We need your support! Now!

Write to our parliament, to the prime minister, and to the president!

Labor Exchange Unemployment Figures Specified

AU1212130491 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 9 Dec 91 p 2

["2,000 More Unemployed Every Month"]

[Text] The monthly average unemployment figure amounts to 2,000 people in our country. The peak of the unemployment rate was reached in October 1991, when 2,183 people lost their jobs. By the end of November the number of unemployed had already increased to 14,500. The analysis of the Labor Exchange Office shows that two-thirds of the unemployed are women; 2,700 are young workers, and 2,300 are university graduates. The number of the unemployed compared with the economically active population is 9.63 percent.

The collectives of state enterprises are steadily dwindling, while the private companies are hardly opening any new jobs, because they are mainly engaged in nonproductive activities. The balancing role of tourism should still be taken into consideration; nevertheless, the situation is deteriorating and will continue to deteriorate, according to experts. The trend indicates a growth in the relative share of unemployed specialists, women, and young people, while the re-employment of the 50-year-olds' generation is becoming increasingly difficult.

An average of 56 unemployed apply for every job vacancy. In the case of unemployed women, this number has increased to 516. Vacancies in Varna amount to 240, while only 30 of them are for university graduates.

Havel Tells Cheney State Breakup 'Less Probable'

AU1312113891 Prague CSTK in English 1949 GMT 11 Dec 91

[Text] Prague Dec 11 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel today told U.S. Secretary of Defence Richard Cheney, here on a two-day working visit, that the breakup of Czechoslovakia is becoming less and less probable.

During his one-hour meeting with Cheney on the political situation in Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, Havel said the main problem is uncertainty about what kind of state will eventually emerge from the ongoing debate over Czechoslovakia's constitutional arrangement.

Czechoslovakia is prepared to be among the first European states to recognise the independence of the breakaway Yugoslav republics of Slovenia and Croatia, Havel said, but it does not want to take the decision unilaterally.

Havel repeated his call for United Nations peacekeeping forces to be sent to Yugoslavia.

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The main focus of Slovak International Relations Minister Pavol Demes's talks with Cheney today was on the conversion of Slovak arms factories to civilian production.

"The American side pledged to support (U.S.) firms which will initiate or which already have contacts with our (weapons plants)", Demes told CSTK.

He also urged the United States to allocate finances from the Central European Fund for Non-Investment Assistance (AID) for economic conversion projects in the Slovak Republic.

x x x

Federal Deputy Premier and Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus told Cheney that the country's current economic reforms will probably lead to the economy "hitting bottom" at the end of 1992, after which a revival should begin.

x x x

Cheney flew to Brussels late this afternoon.

Havel Answers Federal Assembly Deputies' Queries

AU1212153291 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 11 Dec 91 pp 1-2

["(HA)"-signed report: "To Face the Fear and Apathy"]

[Text] President Vaclav Havel held a meeting with Federal Assembly deputies in the parliament building yesterday. Federal Assembly Deputy Chairman characterized this meeting as almost informal.

In a short introductory address, the president explained his reasons for convening the meeting, and he stressed that his concern was that the most productive form of contact with parliament be established. Yesterday's meeting is an experiment on the exploratory path. He then suggested that the dialogue between him and deputies should not be confined to the discussion of the draft laws that he had proposed. Despite this, the deputies' first questions concerned precisely these laws.

For example, Deputy Miroslav Rocek (Civic Democratic Party) stated that the establishment of the Federal Council, as suggested by the president, does not guarantee objective decision-making. Jiri Pospisil (Civic Democratic Party) was of the same opinion, and he added that this proposal belittles the mandate of directly elected deputies and that the Federal Council would be virtually solely composed of people elected by party secretariats. In this connection, Petr Gandalovic (Civic Democratic Party) stressed that the president lent his authority to the national principle in that particular instance; however, the federation should be built on the civic principle.

In his replies on this subject, Vaclav Havel said that he was aware of the fact that the idea of the Federal Council (that is supposed to replace the Federal Assembly Chamber of Nations) meets with strong resistance in parliament and that deputies prefer the establishment of a senate. He acknowledged that the system that is specifically adopted is not important, but that we should know, as soon as possible, what form our legislative body will take, since the election law depends on it. From the point of view of the stability of the state, he believes a solution to this question is a priority.

Deputy Pavel Dostal (Social Democratic Orientation) and other deputies, explained to the president that the civic initiative that he had awakened had changed into pressure on the Federal Assembly. The CSFR president admitted the course of action he had taken was extremely unusual, and he explained that he was led to do so by the situation in which there were growing concerns about democracy in Slovakia and apathy in Czech society over the failure of the talks between the National Councils. This is why he wanted to boost the feeling of responsibility for the common state.

Miroslav Tahy (Christian Democratic Movement) asked whether it would be wise to stir the referendum issue once again, whether it was not just this issue that blocked the talks between the two National Councils, and whether the president really believed that there was a danger of a crisis breaking out in parliament. Vaclav Havel stressed that the referendum should become one of the safety belts and that it could make the talks on the treaty between the republics easier. He commented on the second question by saying that he hopes there will be no parliamentary crisis. However, it is his job to foresee

situations that no one expects to arise, yet may arise. The discussion continued until late evening.

At yesterday's joint meeting, the Federal Assembly Chambers passed, among other things, the amendment to the commercial code and the federal draft law on wages, remuneration for being on call, and the average wage. The law provides legislative provisions for implementing wage reform, minimizes intervention by the state, and makes a fundamental liberalization of wages in the entrepreneurial sphere possible. Above all, the system of tariffs has been abandoned and replaced with a system of collective bargaining. At the same time, it defines certain minimal entitlements of employees. The joint meeting of parliament continues today and, among other things, the draft transformation law should get onto its agenda.

[Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 11 December on page 2 carries a 300-word J. Racz report on the president's meeting with the parliamentarians, which explains the purpose of the meeting as follows: "The immediate reason for the president's visit to the highest legislative body was, as he himself said, to clarify some misunderstandings and to try to eliminate tension and distrust between him and some deputies. This deplorable situation came about exactly one week ago when, as is known, Vaclav Havel addressed the opening session of the 19th joint meeting of Federal Assembly chambers and when his initiatives concerning the future constitutional arrangement, as well as the parliament's further activity, did not meet with full understanding. At that time, both chambers rejected the proposal that the president's initiatives be put on the agenda of the current session of the parliament. In other words, yesterday the president made an attempt to change his recent monologue into a dialogue."]

Government Approves Three Havel Draft Bills

LD1312101291 Prague CSTK in English 2245 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Prague Dec 12 (CSTK)—The Czechoslovak Government today approved three draft bills presented to the Federal Assembly (parliament) by President Vaclav Havel in November in an effort to break the stalemate in the Czech-Slovak talks on the country's state setup.

The first draft provides for transforming the current bicameral parliament into a unicameral one and for setting up a Federal Council consisting of representatives of the Czech and Slovak regional parliaments.

The second draft endows the president with special powers to issue decrees in the event that the Federal parliament is dissolved.

The third draft on holding referendums allows the president to call a plebiscite if he secures approval from the Federal Government.

To improve coordination of foreign aid to Czechoslovakia, the government set up a "Council for Foreign Assistance and Cooperation", to be headed by Economics Minister Vladimir Dlouhy.

The government earmarked 6 million crowns (200,000 USD) for 1991 to cover the expenses of the Federal Interior Ministry in ensuring the implementation of the screening law of October 4, which bans former secret police (STB) collaborators and some other categories of persons from holding public posts for the next five years.

The government decided to propose to Havel the appointment of Stefan Bacinsky as the new director of the Federal Information Service (FIS), replacing Jiri Novotny.

Bacinsky, 37, is a deputy to the Federal parliament for Slovakia's Civic Democratic Union-Public Against Violence (ODU-VPN), and a member of the parliament's presidium.

The government said Novotny, who was charged with reorganising the FIS, had fulfilled his duties.

Criminal Code Change Bans 'Spreading' Communism

AU1312114591 Prague CSTK in English 1935 GMT 11 Dec 91

[Text] Prague Dec 11 (CSTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) today passed an amended criminal code which makes the spreading of fascism and communism punishable with prison sentences ranging from one to five years.

According to Otakar Motejl, chairman of the Supreme Court of Czechoslovakia, the law does not affect the 400,000 members of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) unless they violate human rights.

However, KSCM Chairman Jiri Svoboda, deputy in the parliament, today went on hunger strike to protest the amendment. Speaking with CSTK, he said: "I fully share the view of (Czechoslovak) President Vaclav Havel who said (Monday-ed.) [9 December] there is no reason to ban the Communist Party because it behaves democratically, and that only activity incompatible with democratic pluralism, if proved, could justify its outlawing".

The amendments were approved by 73 out of the 125 deputies present in the House of Nations, and by 61 out of the 112 deputies present in the House of the People.

Voting for the amendments were all deputies from the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), the Civic Democratic Union-Public Against Violence (ODU-VPN), the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA), the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement-Coexistence (MKDH-COE), the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) of Slovakia (with one exception) and all members of the parliamentary club of social democratic orientation.

None of the deputies from the KSCM, the Slovak National Party (SNS), the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) or Slovakia's Party of the Democratic Left (SDL), former communists, voted for the amendments.

Out of 34 deputies from the liberal-centre Civic Movement (OH), who were present, 11 supported the amendments. Four out of the seven deputies from the Self-Governing Democracy Movement-Society for Moravia and Silesia (HSD-SMS), and the same number from the Christian Democratic Union (KDU), supported the amendments.

Submitting the draft amendments on Tuesday [10 December], Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Pavel Rychetsky said the criminal code must be brought in line with Czechoslovakia's charter of human rights and fundamental freedoms passed last January and the international convention on the rights of the child.

The new criminal code tightens punishment of tax offences, trade in children, abuse of commercial information, organisation of illegal border crossings, money-laundering, and the new code does not reintroduce the death penalty, abolished on July 1, 1990, though a wave of voices calling for it was raised by the brutal killing of five guards by escaping prisoners at the Leopoldov prison, West Slovakia, on November 23.

Czech Council Debates Constitution Issues

AU1212164791 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 11 Dec 91 p 3

["RK"-signed report: "Problem Number One: Slovakia"]

[Text] Prague—The Czech Government took a stand at the right moment, and its position regarding the drafting of the 1992 budget contributed to a shift in favor of the existence of a common state. Proof of this is the fact that the Slovak "pro-federal" ministers have not been recalled and that the economic consequences of the common state's division are being rationally assessed by Slovak officials.

Prime Minister Pithart warned in his speech to the Czech National Council [CNR] yesterday that drafting the budgets does not equal solving the problems in Czech-Slovak relations. Czech Republic Finance Minister Spacek added an observation to what the prime minister said, saying that the Czech side has also drafted a confederation version of the budget, "everyone for himself," and the government is prepared to react to any dramatic turn in political development.

The extraordinary session of the Czech National Council dealt with a report on the talks between the Czech National Council and the Slovak National Council presidia held in Casta-Papiernicka on 11 and 12 November. In the discussion, representatives of the Civic Democratic Party, Christian and Democratic Union, Christian Democratic Party, Romany Civic Initiative, and Civic Democratic Alliance clubs rejected the amendment to Article 142 of the Constitutional Law on the Czechoslovak Federation, i.e. ratification of the federal constitution by both National Councils. In his speech, V. Zak (Civic Movement) criticized the Czech political scene for promoting a "tough" stand regarding Slovakia. J. Kalvoda (Civic Democratic Alliance) reacted to Zak's speech. He described current development in central and Eastern Europe as a manifestation of nationalist demagogy, rather than a process of national states' rebirth.

Late in the evening, the Czech National Council expressed its agreement with the course of action adopted by the Czech National Council Presidium at the Casta-Papiernicka talks. The resolution recommends the alternative of a two-chamber Federal Assembly, the second chamber of which would be composed of representatives of the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic on a parity basis. The Czech National Council does not consider an amendment to Article 142 of the Constitutional Law on the Czechoslovak Federation to be absolutely necessary and binds the Czech National Council Presidium to appeal to the Slovak National Council Presidium regarding the conclusion of the talks between the National Councils on the principles for the federal constitution.

Weiss Discusses SDL Policy, Trencin Congress

AU1212150291 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Dec 91 pp 1, 7

[Interview with Peter Weiss, chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left, by Martin Krno; place and date not given: "Peter Weiss on the Party of the Democratic Left Congress in Trencin and on Other Issues...."]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] On the eve of the first Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] congress [to be held in Trencin on 14 December], we interviewed SDL Chairman Peter Weiss on the continuous stream of events since last year's Communist Party of Slovakia [KSS] assembly in Presov. [passage omitted]

[Krno] Adopting a new program and a new party name is one thing. Another is how preregistered party members have managed to identify themselves with the radical changes. What impression have you gained from the SDL district conferences that you participated in?

[Weiss] I would not like to claim that everything in the SDL is the way I would like it to be. There are stronger and weaker district organizations. From time to time, I heard incongruous opinions expressed, which demonstrated a lack of understanding for the new political situation. However, the important thing is the fundamental and unequivocally predominant tendency: support for the creation of a new party free from communist ideology. Following the coup attempt in the USSR on 19 August 1991, many people who— deep down—had doubts about whether founding the SDL was correct,

understood that the communist movement had definitely reached the end of a blind alley. Otherwise, the SDL has the same problems as the other parties and movements. A new political culture is only being formed gradually. Deputies and functionaries at the center and on the community level still have to learn as they go along how to effectively shape policy. The most important task facing us today is knowing how to shape an everyday policy with respect to our fellow citizens.

[Krno] The SDL leadership will submit its balance sheet to delegates at the first congress. What can they reproach you with, and what are you personally not satisfied with?

[Weiss] I consider our main problem to be the fact that we are not making sufficient use of the party's great intellectual and organizational potential. There are several reasons why we have, so far, not made effective use of this potential—the time that, after the profound internal differentiation within the former KSS, we had to devote to preregistering our membership; the fact that we have become a poor party that does not have the money to pay for enough officials; and the constant external pressure for politically motivated discrimination against our members in employment and in public life. Finally, not even the SDL could entirely avoid the general wave of political apathy and resignation. If something pleased me at the SDL conferences, then it was our members' endeavor to more effectively influence their own fate and the fate of working people and not just to view [government] policy as highly respectable skullduggery, but to create conditions for changing it.

[Krno] KSS '91 asked to join the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia [KSCM] and the SDL Federation Council. Why did you adopt a negative position on this request?

[Weiss] The KSCM and SDL Federation will cease to exist, in view of the fact that a new law on political parties has come into force. This federation is an association of two political entities that, according to this law, would have to have joint articles, a joint program, and joint membership. However, this is not being taken into consideration. We have emphasized several times that each member of the former KSS had the opportunity to decide whether and how to be politically active. KSS '91 and the Union of Slovak Communists came into being to indicate disagreement with the SDL's establishment. They are made up of people who did not want to abandon certain ideas, let alone the party's old name. No one took away their freedom to decide, and no one banished them from the SDL. However, I see no reason why, following profound ideological differentiation, the much criticized SDL should now form a federation with them. [passage omitted]

[Krno] In recent weeks, Civic Democratic Union-Public Against Violence [ODU-VPN] and Democratic Party [DS] representatives, in particular, have manifested panicky terror of an election victory by "left-wing forces." Where do their fears come from?

[Weiss] Citizens—lumbered with current right-wing policy—are probably worried that this will continue even after the elections. This is how I understand the results of opinion polls conducted to ascertain electoral preferences. The fears of the ODU-VPN, DS, and Hungarian Independent Initiative stem from the deep crisis they now find themselves in on account of their policy, a policy that, moreover, does not take the Slovak Republic's national interests sufficiently into consideration. They have become ideological and political instruments of the dominant Czech right-wing groupings and expect special protection from a coalition with them. When faith in one's own abilities is lacking, the syndrome of looking for an enemy easily sets in. The parties of the current government coalition should demonstrate that they are capable of administering the state. When citizens adopt a critical point of view, there is no need to take offense; the government should reevaluate its policy. On more than one occasion in parliament we have witnessed volatile behavior that is a result of the political stress on the current representatives of the ruling parties. In an attempt to escape from the crisis, they have propelled themselves into the role of apostles of the joint state and are refusing to discuss what it should look like. [passage omitted]

[Krno] What do you expect from the Trencin congress?

[Weiss] I believe the debates will underline the policy we have strived the most for, that is, a policy based on matter-of-fact argument, correct behavior, tolerance, and respect for our political partners and, especially, for the citizen and his problems. We are under no illusion that any one party is capable of rescuing society from crisis and, therefore, repeated calls for the need to seek broader political consensus among center-left Slovak and Czechoslovak political forces will certainly be made. We do not want to succumb to the temptation of political demagogy and cheap populism. Therefore, we will submit starting points for an SDL economic and social policy to the congress, a policy based on a serious scientific study. The policy document "What the SDL Is Striving For" and a resolution on our relationship with the Socialist International should also be approved in Trencin. We want to create prerequisites at the congress for renewing and expanding the SDL's political representation, especially by including more women, because they are the ones most acutely experiencing the current dramatic social changes. Quite simply, we want to lay good foundations for the start of the election campaign. [passage omitted]

Democratic Forum Reshuffles Leadership

LD1212165691 Budapest MTI in English 0815 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Budapest, December 12 (MTI)—Lajos Fur has been elected acting deputy president of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) [MDF], the biggest party of the governing coalition. His predecessor, Balazs Horvath, filed his resignation in the December 11 session of the HDF Presidium. Lajos Fur will retain his post as minister of defence. The Presidium has extended and reshuffled its leadership. It elected three new deputy presidents: Istvan Csurka, Sandor Lezsak and Laszlo Medgyasszay. Further members of the Presidium: Gabriella Farkas, Imre Furmann, Tamas Szabo (all the three are deputy presidents), Istvan Grezsa and Balazs Horvath.

Szabo Nominated Minister of Industry, Commerce

LD1312083491 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] The prime minister has nominated Ivan Szabo to head the Ministry of Industry and Commerce. According to information from the prime minister's press office, Ivan Szabo will be appointed after his parliamentary hearing. Until the new minister is appointed, Csaba Siklos, minister of transport, is directing the portfolio.

The deputy of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, [Ivan Szabo] is currently chairman of the National Assembly's Economic Committee. [Peter Akos Bod, previous minister of industry and trade, stepped down from this position when he was recently appointed president of the Hungarian National Bank]

State Subsidy Removal Process To Continue

LD1212165291 Budapest MTI in English 1300 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Budapest, December 12 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The process of gradually removing state subsidies, which began in 1988 following agreements with international financial institutions, is to continue next year.

The 1992 central budget envisages a total of 138.8 billion forints in subsidies, as against 170.9 billion forints this year. Excluding housing subsidies, state support will be 73.1 billion forints, as compared to 101 billion forints in 1990.

State subsidies on prices and on production are planned to decrease by a total of 74 billion forints between 1987 and 1992. In 1987, state subsidies represented 13.4 per cent of the GDP, in 1999, 9 per cent and the target for 1992 is 4.6 per cent of the GDP. The proportions of subsidies for consumer prices, housing and producer's prices vary according to economic policy priorities. In 1987, the proportions were 34.2 for consumer prices, 10.6 per cent for housing and 55.2 per cent for producer's prices. Next year, the corresponding proportions will be be 12.2, 47.2 and 40.5 per cent.

Consumer price subsidies will be those most drastically cut next year, with subsidies on domestic energy, milk and dairy products, water and sewage charges being completely withdrawn. This year, 31.3 billion forints were earmarked for consumer price subsidies but, in fact, the target was exceeded by 11 billion forints, with domestic energy subsidies alone taking up 10 billion forints. Next year's target for consumer price subsidies is 16.9 billion forints, which will go entirely towards local transport (6.4 billion forints), railway passenger transport (5.6 billion) and other transport (4.9 billion). The subsidies in these three categories will grow by 20 per cent next year compared to 1991.

Next year, 56.2 billion forints are to be spent on producer price subsidies, as compared to 60.8 billion forints this year. The agricultural sector will receive 34.1 billion forints, with export subsidies taking up 26 billion forints - or 11.5 per cent of the total sales income of agriculture. 4 billion forints will go into the intervention fund, and 4.1 billion for the support of underdeveloped regions.

Another 2.6 billion forints has been earmarked for the closure of mines.

Public transport will receive 2.5 billion forints in producer price subsidies, 100 million forints more than in 1991. The Hungarian state railways will get 2.45 billion forints, and the Gysev railway company 50 million forints to offset its losses on passenger transport.

A sum of 4 billion forints has been allocated to the trade policy fund, which promotes Hungarian exports.

The biggest single amount—65.7 billion forints—will be spent on housing subsidies, but this is 4 billion forints less than the 1991 budget expenditure on this item. Housing loans granted to individuals at preferential rates before 1989 will be subsidized by a total of 38.9 billion forints next year, and loans borrowed after 1989, by 23.4 billion forints. 2 billion forints will be available for the interest support of short-term loans and local councils will receive 1.4 billion forints to subsidise the rents of the poorest families.

Liberal Democrats Quit Coalition Talks

Tusk Announces Decision

LD1212184591 Warsaw PAP in English 1312 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 12—The Liberal-Democratic Congress, one of the five parties trying to forge a new government, pulled out of the talks Thursday over lack of agreement on the economic programme.

Donald Tusk, the leader of the party, announced after a meeting of its Sejm floor group that their talk with Prime Minister Jan Olszewski held in the first part of the meeting today showed that an agreement on economic programme could not be reached.

"The Liberals will not join the government," Tusk added.

Shortly after this announcement, the remaining four coalition parties' leaders went into a meeting to discuss the situation.

As if anticipating today's events, the GAZETA WYBORCZA newspaper wrote Thursday that "If the congress pulled out of the coalition, the move would put into question the success of Jan Olszewski's mission. The coalition would become weaker and tension between it and the president would grow."

The ZYCIE WARSZAWY daily also pondered over such a possibility and said that the Liberals' withdrawal from forming the government would make talks between the remaining four parties easier. "They will most likely agree on an 'antirecession' programme which will be a significant departure from the economic policies pursued to date. A radical change in approach to the economy may prove very risky," ZYCIE WARSZAWY warned.

KLD Supports Bielecki

LD1212194991 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Donald Tusk, leader of the Liberal Democratic Congress, has said at a news conference that, in his view, Jak Krzysztof Bielecki is at present the best candidate for prime minister. It cannot be expected, however, that this could be approved by Parliament. Donald Tusk added that his declaration did not mean that the Congress was bringing pressure in favor of the former prime minister.

Proposes 'Strong Cabinet'

LD1212212691 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1200 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] The meeting between parliamentarians of the Liberal Democratic parliamentary floor group and Prime Minister Jan Olszewski lasted 45 minutes. After leaving the meeting, the prime minister made no statement to journalists. A PAP correspondent spoke to the Liberal Democratic Congress press spokesman, who said that the Liberals presented the prime minister with a proposal for the creation of a strong cabinet construction that would guarantee success. Spokesman Andrzej Halicki added that the Liberals want to detach parliamentary and party games from the the most important issue of the formation of a cabinet.

Olszewski Continues Coalition Consultations

Confers With Kaczynski

LD1212213391 Warsaw PAP in English 1536 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 12—Shortly after the Liberal-Democratic Congress announced its decision to pull out of government coalition talks Thursday, Premier Jan Olszewski received Centre Alliance leader Jaroslaw Kaczynski.

Commenting on the meeting, Kaczynski said that efforts to form the government continued and its composition will be announced shortly.

He said he finds it difficult to define the motives for the surprising decision to quit taken by the Liberal-Democratic Congress (KLD) and added that were the KLD to change its opinion this "would be in agreement with the Polish reason of state."

At the same time, Kaczynski assured that the coalition would find the right candidates for economic posts even if the KLD remained outside the coalition. He refused, however, to say who could possibly replace the KLD in the government coalition.

Later on, Jaroslaw Kaczynski took part in a meeting of the leaders of the reduced coalition which debated for an hour and a half in the absence of Premier Jan Olszewski. The premier is to take part in the second part of the meeting when it resumes later this afternoon. No details of the talks have been released so far.

Says Government Without KLD Possible

LD1212213491 Warsaw PAP in English 1538 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 12—Prime Minister Jan Olszewski said Thursday that the formation of a government without Liberals is theoretically possible.

Referring to the decision of the Liberal-Democratic Congress (KLD) to withdraw from the coalition of five centre-right parties and not to enter Olszewski's government, the newly appointed prime minister rejected KLD leader Donald Tusk's claims that the new government should be authorized by three persons: President Lech Walesa, Prime Minister Olszewski, and the former Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki.

In Olszewski's view, the government should be authorized by the president and the Sejm (lower house) and no one else.

Meets With Four Parties

LD1212234491 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 2100 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] A meeting of the leaders of four center-right parties, joined by Prime Minister Jan Olszewski, is taking place behind closed doors in the Sejm building. A 90-minute break was called before 1900, when the prime minister met Sejm Speaker Professor Wieslaw Chrzanowski.

Jerzy Kropielnicki of the Christian National Union was asked to present the substance of the meeting. He said representatives of the four parties will definitely be present in the government presidium. However, the issue of ministerial composition depends on how the prime minister wishes to take advantage of the possibilities presented to him by each party.

Jerzy Kropielnicki added that a sense of responsibility for the fate of Poland went beyond the limits of the four coalition parties. No one now wants to experiment with new elections.

Earlier, Prime Minister Jan Olszewski, asked to comment the decision of the Liberal Democratic Congress to withdraw from the Five, said that the creation of a government in such a situation was theoretically possible.

Geremek: UD Government Participation 'Doubtful'

AU1312114691 Warsaw PAP in English 2038 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Warsaw, Dec.10—President Lech Walesa received Bronislaw Geremek who is chairman of the Democratic Union (UD) parliamentary floor group, in an almost 40 minute meeting on Tuesday.

After the meeting the Presidential Press Office said that Walesa stressed that it was necessary to shape anew relations between the Parliament, the government and the president with a view to ensuring the effective functioning of the state. It was also indispensable to clearly divide powers between the three, and the so-called small constitution, proposed by the president, would make it easier to rule the state finding itself in the situation of a crisis, the Press Office added.

Geremek said that he had told the president that the UD was worried about the "state of paralysis" of Parliament's work. His floor group would propose a plan for speeding this up.

"I spoke to the president about the problems the government faces. I share the president's conviction that the main political problem at the moment is the economic programme and in this question we are awaiting a concrete government programme from Prime Minister Jan Olszewski," said Geremek.

Geremek added that they had also discussed the president's proposed "small constitution", the intention of which the UD had accepted from the very beginning since it had had its own initiative in this matter.

Geremek was doubtful about the possibility of the UD entering the Jan Olszewski government. He said that his own opinion was that it would not happen and that UD support for the government depended on the economic programme it presented.

KPN Chairman Predicts Government Composition

LD1312131991 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1200 GMT 13 Dec 91

[Text] Leszek Moczulski, chairman of the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN], says that Prime Minister Jan Olszewski will submit the composition of his government on Tuesday or Wednesday. He does not rule out the composition being established by tomorrow by the four center-right parties. The withdrawal of the Liberals from the coalition, said Leszek Moczulski, resulted in its considerable weakening, but it would be easier to create one specific program. In his opinion, the president is not interfering in the formation of the government. Leszek Moczulski also denies journalistic speculation regarding the government's composition. He confirms his intention to head the Ministry of National Defense. He notes that the KPN has directed a motion to the Tribunal of State on punishing initiators of the introduction of martial law.

Papers' Predictions Reported

LD1312112891 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0600 GMT 13 Dec 91

[Text] The GAZETA WYBORCZA writes that, behind the scenes in the Sejm, people are saying that portfolios in the new government will be filled by, i.a, Jerzy Eysymontt of the Center Alliance [PC], who is to become finance minister, and Antoni Macierewicz of the Christian National Union [ZChN], who is to become minister of internal affairs. The GAZETA writes that the leader of the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN], Leszek Moczulski, would take the deputy prime minister's portfolio, while Krzysztof Skubiszewski would remain in the post of foreign minister.

The papers also write about the danger of the Four [parties in the coalition] being reduced to three. The RZECZPOSPOLITA, i.a., reports that Leszek Moczulski told coalition members that if they did not accept the program of changes proposed by the KPN in those ministries for which the president is constitutionally responsible, meaning the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Ministry of National Defense, the KPN could leave the Four.

GAZETA WYBORCZA, quoting sources close to the president, writes that Lech Walesa is putting pressure on the Democratic Union [UD] and the Liberal Democratic Congress [KLD] to form a government. The Polish Peasant Party [PSL] would apparently join these two. Yesterday, in fact, Bronislaw Geremek [leader of UD parliamentary floor group] conducted a long conversation with Donald Tusk [chairman of KLD], but we do not know if they talked about a new coalition.

Sejm Committee Debates 'Small Constitution'

AU1312114391 Warsaw PAP in English 1727 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 10—The Sejm (lower house) extraordinary committee that met Tuesday to examine the presidential draft of a "small constitution" came to the conclusion that it is necessary to strengthen the executive organs of the state and preserve an equilibrium between the Parliament, the president and the government, but was less unanimous as to other points of the draft.

No one on the committee was in favour of the clause saying that the president should have an indisputable right to dismiss the government directly. On the other hand, everyone agreed that the Sejm (the more important house of the bicameral Parliament) should have some say over the appointment of the government. The committee also approved the president's clause that he should have a limited right to dissolve the Sejm.

Henryk Goryszewski of the Christian National Union (ZChN) argued that the small constitution should facilitate the appointment of a government and make it difficult to dismiss it.

In the opinion of Jan Rokita of the Democratic Union (UD) the president should play the role of an arbiter rather than be an element of the executive power, and should have the right to strong intervention if a conflict emerges between the Parliament and the government.

The deputies also discussed the scope of matters that should be covered by the small constitution. Many of them were against the clause about appointing and recalling the president of the Supreme Board of Inspection (NIK) as proposed in the draft, and many had reservations as to the possibility for the government to issue decrees with the force of law.

UD Version Supported

LD1312131191 Warsaw PAP in English 1222 GMT 13 Dec 91

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 13—Not a single member of the extraordinary Sejm committee reviewing the presidential draft of constitutional amendments called "the small constitution" came out in favour of accepting its part dealing with the vote of no confidence for government.

During the first part of its session here Friday, the committee accepted another draft, proposed by the Democratic Union [UD].

Planning Office Says Inflation Not Key Problem

LD1312054591 Warsaw PAP in English 2339 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 12—Head of the Central Planning Office (CUP) Jerzy Eysymontt said Thursday overcoming recession and not fighting inflation was the key problem facing Poland.

At a meeting in the Polish Economic Society Eysymontt pessimistically opined that the maintaining of the budget deficit at this year level as well as the opening of the eastern market were doubtful. Also the unemployment might grow to 3.5 million next year.

In order to halt these pessimistic forecasts, the increased spending on investment is necessary. In Eysymontt's opinion, to achieve that the introduction of zero or negative interest rates on credits would be admissible. "It would be a bad solution, but there are no good ones in our situation," he said.

According to the CUP head it is also necessary to halt the destruction of state sector, which is the main source of budget revenues, by means of supporting efficient plants and liquidating bad ones. He added however that the development of the private sector was also needed to stimulate competition.

Gdansk Workers Demand Soviet Payment on Repairs

LD1312055291 Warsaw PAP in English 2348 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Gdansk, Dec. 12—Following the Soviet Union's failure to pay for contracts implemented owing to loans guaranteed by the Polish state, the unionists from the Northern Shipyard (Stocznia Polnocna) have sent a letter to Prime Minister Jan Olszewski requesting the government intervention and warning their strike would be continued until talks are started.

The protest actions over the unpaid contracts is being staged by both the Northern and "Nauta" Shipyards. The unionists demand payments for warships constructed for the Soviet Union and repair work of ships belonging to Soviet shipowners.

Iliescu Addresses Parliament on Referendum Results

AU1312112091 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0816 GMT 13 Dec 91

[Speech by President Ion Iliescu at a joint session of Parliament on the results of the referendum on the Constitution in Bucharest—live]

[Text] The event we are witnessing today will undoubtedly go down in history as the crowning of the process unleashed by the Romanian revolution of December 1989 to assert the state of law; it will also rank among the events of major importance for establishing democracy on the soil of our 2000-year-old homeland.

Indeed, while the December 1989 revolution removed the communist totalitarian regime by dismantling its political and power structures and by unfettering our people, the Constitution actually concludes the first and most important stage of the reforming transformation toward democracy by sanctioning—at the legal and institutional levels—the ideals of this revolution proclaimed in the platform-program of the National Salvation Front Council of 22 December 1989.

The people's referendum of 8 December 1991 has confirmed the country's fundamental document that was drafted by the Constituent Assembly and adopted on 21 November 1991. The Romanian people, called upon to exercise the prerogatives of national sovereignty even over the document that proclaims them, promptly responded to this responsibility. Overcoming the adversities of unfavorable times, undergoing the vicissitudes that mark their daily life—some of them overcoming their own doubts and disregarding the very great pressure by some political forces that are hostile to a constitutional establishment and that try to confuse people and divert their attention from the meaning of this vote—the Romanian electorate came to the polls in great numbers and with great civic responsibility, and a great majority endorsed the Constitution. The quite significant percentage of people who did not show up at the polling stations should neither be exaggerated, nor dramatized, and neither should it be speculated on.

The fact that some people did not show up at the polling stations—aside from when this happened because of real obstacles, such as snowstorms, in certain areas—is a matter for the conscience and sense of responsibility of each citizen, and it should be viewed as a manifestation of democracy. In any case, only those of ill faith could add this percentage to the votes against the Constitution because, in any democracy, abstention from voting does not mean a negative vote. As a matter of fact, there is evidence entitling us to believe that those who wanted to vote against the Constitution demonstrated greater electoral discipline than the remainder of the population.

However, one has to point out what is essential: The votes in favor of the constitution represented the great majority of the votes cast, and in absolute figures, they represent the majority of the Romanian electorate. This provides the country's fundamental charter with more than the necessary legal confirmation, makes it a representational document, and ensures its authority, legitimacy, and credibility. [applause]

This is the homage paid by the Romanian citizens to the Constituent Assembly and to the elected people for their efforts and hard work during this difficult process of drafting the Constitution. To this homage, I want to add my greatest appreciation, together with sincere congratulations, which I want to convey to all political and parliamentary forces, to the members of the Constitutional Commission, and to all parliamentarians. [applause]

Thus, as of today, our country has a new Constitution, a new identity document, a modern and democratic Constitution that matches the level of the best such international standards. It has already been assessed as such by reputed foreign specialists.

With this Constitution, we will be able to identify ourselves and to join the ranks of the free and democratic nations. Our country's new fundamental charter will constitute the cornerstone to the establishment of democracy on Romanian soil. It will certainly be a guarantor for our nation's freedom and prosperity. After a politically provisional stage, it will ensure and mark the transition to a new stage of political and institutional stability and place the entire economic and social life on a new foundation.

The coming into force of our Constitution seals the definitive transition of the organizational framework and activity of the state to the mechanisms and principles of the state of law. The country's government and the operation of all public bodies, the activity of all political forces and of any kind of organizations—as well as the activity of all citizens—have to be in keeping with the regulations of these mechanisms and principles.

In my position as Romania's president, who is called upon by this fundamental document to see to it that the Constitution is observed, I solemnly declare that I will view this prerogative as my basic duty, and I want to appeal to the whole nation, to all institutions, social and political forces, and to all citizens to take their oath of allegiance to the principle of the Constitution's supremacy, to the sacred obligation to observe it and the laws in force. This principle urges and compels both those who have voted for the Constitution and those who have voted against it—irrespective of their reasons—and it compels those who have abstained.

May the people's endorsement of the Constitution and its coming into force mark a decisive step toward establishing social peace, law and order, and an atmosphere of quiet and work, and may it be the link that will unite us in a common effort to overcome difficulties and to implement the reform that will ensure a dignified and prosperous existence for our hard-tried people.

Viva la Constitution. [applause]

Electoral Bureau Communique Read

AU1312101991 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0805 GMT 13 Dec 91

[Speech by Judge Gheorghe Mircea Lazar, president of the Central Electoral Bureau, to a joint session of Parliament in Bucharest: "Communique of the Central Electoral Bureau Regarding the Results of the National Referendum Held on 8 December 1991 on Romania's Constitution"—live]

[Text] Mr. President, Presidents of the Parliament Chambers, Ladies and Gentlemen Parliamentarians, Mr. Prime Minister, Ministers, Presidents of the Supreme Court of Justice, Esteemed Guests:

The Electoral Central Bureau—which, in accordance with the provisions of Article 11 of Law 67 of 1991 on the organization and holding of the national referendum on Romania's Constitution, includes seven judges who were designated in accordance with decision No. 26 of Romania's Parliament of 26 November 1991 and 10 delegates of the political parties that are represented in the Parliament—has fulfilled its task in accordance with the final thesis of Article No. 12, Paragraph 1, the final theses and Article No. 29 of this law, presents the result regarding the national referendum on Romania's Constitution.

The result of the central counting at a national level of the number of votes cast, which coincides with the number of participants, is a total of 10,948,468. The number of valid votes cast in favor of the Constitution is 8,464,624, which represents 77.3 percent. The number of valid votes expressed against it is 2,235,085, that is 20.4 percent. The number of annulled votes is 249,759, that is 2.3 percent.

Thus, the Central Electoral Bureau has reached the conclusion that the requirement stipulated in Article 29, paragraph 2 of law No. 57 of 1991 regarding the majority of votes has been met, and the Romanian Constitution, endorsed by this referendum, has been adopted. [applause]

Controversy Over Special FSN Congress Continues

Senators' Request Explained

AU1312115691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1050 GMT 13 Dec 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/12/1991—In an interview with the December 13 issue of the daily "DIMINEATA", Senator Vasile Vacaru, the leader of the parliamentary group of the National Salvation Front [FSN] in Romania's Senate, specified that the main topic of the open letter signed by 55 FSN senators was "the necessity of holding a FSN extraordinary convention at a national level, for clarifications to be made as of the doctrine of the party". "We have to dissipate the fog we are groping through, for the sake of those who voted for us", said Mr. Vacaru, who added: "People knew us as a center-left party, that's what they voted for and that's what we must remain. That supposes a certain line, a certain political action. The leaning towards the center or even the right we had been pushed to, is no proof of fair-play towards our electors."

Asked if he had in mind another national leader, Senator Vasile Vacaru mentioned: "The spirit of our letter objected to such a function. What has been going on so far makes me maintain that the fate of the party must no longer be in the hands of one man only. We must form a presidium, for instance, therefore a body of collective leadership, with chairmanship taken by rotation".

Mr. Vacaru equally mentioned that other FSN senators added to the initial 55 who signed the letter, which stands proof of its rightfulness.

FSN Issues Communique

AU1212213291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1930 GMT 12 Dec 91

["Communique of the National Salvation Front"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/12/1991—Thursday, December 12, the Executive Bureau of the National Salvation Front-FSN had successive interviews with the FSN parliamentary groups in the Senate and the Assembly of Deputies.

The situation was analysed, created following the statement made on December 11 by the FSN Senator Vasile Vacaru, as well as the present political life and the organisational problems of the National Salvation Front.

The FSN senators and deputies, and the FSN leader, Petre Roman, presented their points of view.

The members of the two parliamentary groups disapproved the broadcasting of Mr. Vacaru's statement before its having been forwarded to the FSN Executive Bureau, to which it was addressed.

The necessity was mentioned of a national convention to be held, to clarify the ideological platform and define the future governing FSN programme.

The decision was taken that this dialogue continue in a meeting at the beginning of next week.

FSN Executive Bureau Meets

AU1212213391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2030 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/12/1991— In an interview with "Nova" radio station, FSN [National Salvation Front] national leader Petre Roman asserted that, following the communique Mr. Vasile Vacaru, FSN group leader in the Senate, read on TV yesterday

evening, the members of the Executive Bureau of the National Salvation Front met last night in a special session to directly state their opinions, "which makes us confident that the National Salvation Front can maintain its status of a politically responsible party."

Asked whether he is optimistic, Mr. Roman said: I must be and I even am optimistic, more particularly if I think of the quality of the confrontation that can (?ensue) as well as of the people who have one point of view or another. A meeting of the Executive Bureau was decided to be held with the parliamentary groups on December 12 to discuss the convening of the Steering Committee, to set the parameters at which the national convention should take place, which anyhow has already been announced, and to establish the Front's election platform at the general elections, Mr. Roman also said.

Roman Criticizes Iliescu 'Meddling'

AU1212215991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2150 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/12/1991—In a statement for Radio Bucharest and the Romanian Television, FSN [National Salvation Front] national leader Petre Roman, commenting the letter of the 56 FSN senators, said "hardly has the post-referendum silence fallen upon the voting urns for the new Constitution of Romania, that I am compelled to see with regret that the president of this country troubled this silence meddling in the internal affairs of a political party."

Petre Roman opined that "the avalanche of accusations being invented in recent statements" (and named the one by a group of FSN senators, President Iliescu's T.V. interview and the Romanian Intelligence Service's press-release) "follow the classical pattern of fabricating the people's enemies, that is of framing those that must be found guilty by all means." The FSN national leader blamed the Romanian Intelligence Service for" interference in the political life of Romania, thereby seriously violating the constitutional principles and fostering the fear that the Securitate is surfacing in a new disguise."

The former premier expressed his conviction that "no pressure, no threat, no denigratory campaign could make him give up his political beliefs." "What we built together stays as a foundation stone: a modern and democratic constitution, a legislation of wide openness, which laid the foundations of the political and economic reform in Romania."

Senate Declares Sen. Kiraly's Seat Vacant

AU1212150391 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Today's Senate session ended after the adoption by a majority of votes of a draft decision declaring one senator's seat vacant. This draft decision was issued on the basis of the minutes of the Constituent Assembly Committee regarding the results of the votes cast by deputies and senators on Romania's draft constitution on 21 November 1991. This document notes that Senator Karoly Kiraly did not report present nor did he send in his vote in a sealed envelope.

Bearing in mind Article 2 of the Constituent Assembly Decision No. 3 of 13 November 1991, the Senate notes that Senator Karoly Kiraly, who was elected on the UDMR [Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania] lists in the election constituency No. 15, rightfully lost his position as senator. Consequently his seat in the Senate was declared vacant.

Court Grants Appeals of Former RCP Leaders

AU1212213191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2013 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/12/1991—The Military Section of the Supreme Court of Justice announced Thursday, December 12, the sentence on the appeal against the March 25, 1991 sentence given by the Bucharest Territorial Military Court according to which Defendant Stefan Andrei was sentenced to two years and ten months imprisonment, Lina Ciobanu to two years, Silviu Curticeanu to two years and ten months, Ludovic Fazekas to four years and six months, Mihai Gere to two years and ten months, Ana Muresan to two years, Paul Niculescu-Mizil to three years and six months, Dumitru Popescu to five years and six months, Ion Stoian to two years and ten months, Ioan Toma to two years and ten months, Ioan Totu to five years and six months, Ion Radu to three years, and Suzanica Gadea to two years for abetment of genocide, while Nicolae Constantin to three years, Miu Dobrescu to two years for negligence on duty, and Gheorghe Oprea to one and a half years for nonobservance of arms and ammunition rules. Under the same sentence, defendants Gheorghe David, Constantin Olteanu, Gheorghe Toma, Constantin Radu, and Iosif Szasz had been acquitted. Sixteen of the 21 defendants included in that file appealed to the General Prosecutor's Office.

The sentence pronounced on December 12 shows that defendants Stefan Andrei, Dumitru Popescu, Ioan Totu, Ludovic Fazekas, Paul Niculescu-Mizil, Silviu Curticeanu, Mihai Gere, Ion Stoian, Ioan Toma, Lina Ciobanu, Ana Muresan, Suzanica Gadea and Ion Radu are acquitted and so are defendants Nicolae Constantin and Miu Dobrescu. According to the Penal Code, immediate release was decided of defendants Stefan Andrei, Ioan Totu, Ludovic Fazekas, Paul Niculescu-Mizil, Silviu Curticeanu, Ioan Toma, Ion Radu, Nicolae Constantin and the preventive arrest of defendant Ion Stoian was revoked.

The Court rejected the appeal against the same sentence made by the Military Prosecutor's Department, whereby a shift was requested in charging the defendants with abetment of aggravated murder and sentencing them for it.

Noting that defendants Dumitru Popescu and Mihai Gere executed their one-year punishment in prison, the Court decided their immediate release. The Prosecutor-General made special appeal against the penal sentence No. 53 of December 12, 1991 pronounced by the Military Section of the Supreme Court of Justice according to which the former members of the Political Executive Committee [PEC] of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] were acquitted, considering it obviously groundless and essentially illegal.

Parliament Debates Bill on Free Expression

AU1212114091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1016 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 12/12/1991—Starting Wednesday, December 11 the agenda of Romania's Parliament includes the debates on the audiovisual bill. Here are some of the basic principles of that bill as well as some of its defining stipulations.

Article 1 of the audiovisual bill stipulates the guaranteeing of the free expression of ideas, pluralism of opinions as well as the spread of information through radio and television media. In direct connection with this stipulation the bill envisages the interdiction of any form of censorship of the freedom of audiovisual expression.

The bill bans and punishes the defamation of the country and of the nation, the urge to war, to national, racial, class and religious hatred, the incitation to public violence, to discrimination, exclusivist and national, ethnic or linguistic separatism. In the same context the audiovisual media are banned to broadcast programmes including indecent, obscene, contrary to good manners events.

The legal responsibility for the content of the information broadcast through audiovisual media belongs to its author, producer, owner of the station that broadcast the respective information.

The person or persons considering that one of their rights or legitimate interests was violated have the right to answer in the same conditions in which their rights or interests were violated.

Of special significance is the fact that the bill stipulates the possibility of public or private juristic persons to rent audiovisual communications networks which are the property of autonomous units or of state-capital commercial companies. These persons can own broadcasting stations, and the broadcasting through public networks can be made only having a programme licence.

The new audiovisual bill stipulates the setting up of the National Audiovisual Council, an independent authority, which exercises its attributions in keeping with this bill exclusively, its main objective being to ensure the exercise of the audiovisual expression freedom.

Striking Journalists Protest Paper Prices

AU1212212691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2100 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/12/1991—Representatives of the three of the most important national dailies—ADEVARUL, ROMANIA LIBERA and TINERETUL LIBER—which have started a warning strike by suspending their today's issues, showed Thursday, 12 December, at a press conference, that the prime motive of their action was the exorbitant price demanded, as at 2 December, by "Letea" commercial company, the sole manufacturer of newsprint in Romania. In fact, they said, this is nothing but a monopoly of paper, imposed by the manufacturer's policy of commercial dictate, an attitude the government should discourage. They warned that the financial ruin of newspapers was a political blow given to the freedom of expression and, consequently, to the human rights and democracy in Romania. Adding to this "misfortune," as a journalist labelled it, of the excessive price of newsprint, are the high distribution costs exacted by the specialised state-run commercial company RODIPET [expansion unknown].

Siding with the "strike of the three" are the journalists unions, editorial staffs of dailies in Timisoara, Brasov, Cluj-Napoca, Constanta and other counties, the cultural publications. As a matter of fact, mostly affected by the excessive paper prices are provincial dailies and periodicals, many of them being bankrupt or tumbling to bankruptcy.

The striking press representatives explained that the meeting they had at government headquarters led to no results because from the very beginning the executive treated the problem one-sidedly, approaching it as an exclusively economic issue and ignoring the political implications of the paper price going up to more than lei 148,000 per tonne, that is 20 times. They demonstrated that the price in question was by 200 U.S. dollars higher than the average price on the international market.

The organisers of the press conference pointed out that if the warning strike would not be given due consideration and reasonable solutions adopted, the whole press in Romania might, in the near future, join in a general strike.

The attendance was informed that on the same day, Thursday, 12 December, an open letter had been addressed to international institutions defending the freedom of expression, to the Council of Europe and the European Parliament, requesting their support so that "the written press in Romania should not disappear."

Finance Minister Opts for 'Austerity Budget'

AU1212113591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1010 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 12/12/1991—In connection with the bill of the budget of central state administration for 1992, endorsed in the December 11 meeting

of the Romanian Government, George Danielescu, minister of economy and finance, stressed that Romania's economy has gone through recession for at least three years, which is shown by such pointers as: decrease of GNP and industrial production, price rise, mounting unemployment and dropping real incomes of the population.

Under the circumstances, he said, the main target the government will pursue in 1992 is a policy of economic stabilization and within it the budget is one of the major levers.

"In order to curb inflation and the other processes with great social impact, we can only set ourselves to elaborate an austerity budget," Danielescu showed. The budget of the central state administration for 1992 stipulates a ratio of incomes to expenses that should not top 80-90 billion lei, financed out of the resources of non-banking units, hence it will not be an inflation budget.

As for expenses, we have had to confine ourselves to the poor resources in existence, trying to distribute them in keeping with the options of economic policy for 1992 and with the elementary needs of the population as regards health, education, social security and the needs of the economy as regards national defence, security and public order, Danielescu showed.

Spiriou Assesses Results of Visit to Bulgaria

AU1212144391 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 9 Dec 91 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Lieutenant General Nicolae Spiriou, national defense minister, with Lieutenant Colonel Vladi Vladkov; place and date not given: "Many Things Bind Us Together!"]

[Text] [Vladkov] Mr. Minister, as your visit here nears its end, how do you assess its results?

[Spiriou] It was a very useful visit. I had the opportunity to make the personal acquaintance of Minister Ludzhev. We discussed the most important issues concerning the development of our two armies and jointly finalized a plan for cooperation that includes exchanging experience between our armed forces, training military cadres, cooperation in the weapons field, military education, and other important questions. I would like to stress that all the discussions were held in a very frank atmosphere, which has always been a characteristic of our armies' relations. Under the new conditions in which we are both enjoying freedom, when our countries are changing over to a market economy and democracy, we have new opportunities to develop these relations as well. We established that many things bind us together—friendly, amicable relations, and even a spiritual similarity between our peoples, who for centuries have been living together as good neighbors.

I invited Mr. Ludzhev to visit Romania next year, and I hope that this visit will take place.

[Vladkov] During the talks at the Ministry of Defense, the point cropped up that Romania has made progress in legislation connected with the Army. Could you say something specific on this?

[Spiriou] Our Parliament passed the Law on the Functioning of the Ministry of National Defense and the Law on the Operation of the Supreme Defense Council. The government approved the Law on the Status of the Military Cadres, which is to be submitted to Parliament. This is the position so far.

[Vladkov] Mr. Minister, what social position does the Romanian officer hold in society?

[Spiriou] We have concerned ourselves with the social protection of our regular cadres. We increased servicemen's pay, taking into account the indexation in the national economy. We also provided specific supplementary allowances for military service. We have an agreement for the provision of about 2,500 apartments for our regular cadres. We are also taking other measures for the social protection of our servicemen, to guarantee them a peaceful life and a good position in society.

[Vladkov] What do you have to say about the prestige of the officer's profession?

[Spiriou] The members of the officer corps in Romania enjoy great authority and respect. All the people have great trust in their Army. They also place great hopes in it to guarantee defense and ensure tranquillity in the country. The Army is one of the elements of stability in society, especially at a time when the economic reform is accompanied by many negative consequences.

[Vladkov] Mr. Minister, how do you view the relations between our armies and defense ministries in the future?

[Spiriou] In my opinion, they have been very good even until now—better, I would say, than the relations in other fields of interstate relations. I am convinced that not only will they develop at the ministerial level, but also direct links will be established at the level of commands that will enhance trust in the spirit of European cooperation. We agreed that an agreement between our armies will be signed after an interstate treaty has been signed between Romania and Bulgaria.

[Vladkov] It has become clear that no problems or contradictions exist between our armies and defense ministries. In your view, do any problems exist at the interstate level, and are they solvable?

[Spiriou] It is indeed true that no problems exist between our armies. However, some concern is felt in Romania regarding the slowness in finding political solutions to certain problems. I am referring to the ecological questions, which have been greatly overexaggerated. Recently, we also witnessed the inaccurate interpretation of Mr. Iliescu's speech to mark our country's National

Day. Such elements create the false impression that our relations are not so good as they should be. Presidents Iliescu and Zhelev met in Paris and discussed these issues. A summit meeting is also planned, and I believe that there is no reason that our friendly relations should not be confirmed at this meeting, especially in view of the fact that both countries are traveling along the same complex path of development. We belong to the same geographical region, we are neighbors, and all the conditions are there for much better relations to exist between us.

Please convey my friendly greetings to all the soldiers of the Bulgarian Army and my good wishes to them for health and success in combat training for the defense of their motherland.

Clear Stand on Moldova, Bessarabia Urged

AU1212133091 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 10 Dec 91 pp 1, 5

[Corneliu Vlad article: "President Iliescu Can No Longer Keep Quiet"]

[Text] The situation of Romanians whose ancient territories are still under the occupation of the empire in the East presents an increasingly strange and distorted sight; things continue to depart more and more from their normal, simple, and evident aspects.

The ambiguities woven around this problem are not accidental; they are maintained in a more or less skillful way by those who want to preserve a revolting historical injustice, even under conditions in which not even the desperate convulsions of the rear guard defenders of the empire succeed in maintaining the unity—at least in the eyes of the world—of this monstrous combination of states.

In a quasi-general euphoria, we rejoiced in the proclamation of the Republic of Moldova's independence. That act had to be concluded, probably because all the "republics of the union" that belong to the dying USSR have done so. But what kind of viable state can this one turn out to be? And what kind of historical traditions or legal basis can justify it? As a matter of fact, the proclamation of independence of the Republic of Moldova was a desperate act of our Chisinau [Kishinev] compatriots in the former "union republic"—which is not the historical Bessarabia—seeing the passivity, not to say more, of Bucharest officials regarding the fate of the territories and of Romanians that are now beyond the borders of our country.

Why could the Baltic states gradually eliminate the effects of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, proclaiming their independence, while the officials who are governing in Bucharest did not take any clear and prompt steps in that direction in connection with the Romanian territories snatched away on the basis of that odious pact? They have left our compatriots entangled in various intricate acts that cannot cut the Gordian knot and that do not help in any way apart from discouraging them or creating enmity among them. Why did Mircea Snegur need to organize a festive presidential election that proved him a winner with over 98 percent of the votes in his favor, while through this act he offered a pretext to the "Transdniestrians" to detach themselves even more from the Republic of Moldova?

The desperate appeals of the leadership of the Republic of Moldova against the highly despotic actions of the 14th Army of the Odessa Military District found in Bucharest such a mild echo (except for the attitude of our newspaper—we must admit it despite our modesty) as if the issue were a cease-fire violation in Cyprus or the persecution of certain South African leaders and not a vital problem for the Romanian nation.

On the day that preceded the referendum on the Constitution, Romania's president kept completely quiet, as is his habit, although through this Constitution "Romania's president represents the Romanian state and is the guarantor of the national independence and of the unity and territorial integrity of the country."

And now, here is this Constitution that emerged victorious in the referendum. Will the president, the "guarantor" in the issue of life and death of the Romanian nation continue to keep quiet? Will this extended quiet—that can in no way be excused—be the first abdication of the president from his constitutional prerogatives?

Cotroceni Palace cannot make errors indefinitely (see the Treaty with Moscow), concessions (see the Treasure [Romania's golden treasure still in the Soviet Union] and Serpent Island), and keep silent (see the position toward the current situation in the Republic of Moldova, North Bukovina, and South Bessarabia,) in its relations with the neighbor or neighbors in the East.

The country expects President Ion Iliescu to express his position clearly in this eternal cause of ours. After a point, silence becomes equivalent with treason.

International

UN Asks EC Not To Recognize Slovenia, Croatia

LD1212211891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1649 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 12 (TANJUG)—According to officially unconfirmed information from reliable sources, Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar has suggested to the European Community to refrain from recognizing Slovenia and Croatia.

In a letter to the President of the Council of [as received] Hans Van den Broek, De Cuellar explained that the recognition of the two republics' independence would in the present situation endanger the efforts invested by the world organization to resolve the Yugoslav crisis peacefully.

TANJUG's reporter learned that Yugoslav State Presidency Vice-President Branko Kostic scheduled a meeting of the collective head of state this afternoon to discuss "chief elements of the agreement on the engagement of U.N. peace-keeping forces in Yugoslavia".

The Federal Chamber, part of the bicameral Federal Assembly, today postponed the debate on a confidence vote to Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic. The debate is postponed until the delegates of all Yugoslav republics, which have not withdrawn their representatives from the Federal Chamber, voice their opinion.

Out of the six Yugoslav republics, only Slovenia and Croatia [word indistinct] definitely withdrawn their delegates from this chamber, while the representatives of Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina attend the meetings irregularly.

The Yugoslav Government today informed the federal parliament of the measures taken to neutralize or alleviate the E.C.'s unilateral sanctions against Yugoslavia. Estimates are that around 70 percent of Yugoslavia's exports will be affected by the sanctions.

Serbian parliament President Aleksandar Bakocevic informed the delegates today that the prime minister of this Yugoslav republic Dragutin Zelenovic turned in his resignation without explanation. Under the republican constitution, the prime minister's resignation has as a consequence the resignation of the whole government.

There were no larger-scale conflicts in Croatia, but the cease-fire was violated on practically all fronts, as journalists reported, citing military sources.

Weapons used in the current civil war in Yugoslavia are paid by drugs, as latest reports of the French drug control department set out. The department warns above all of the Albanian-Croatian connection.

EC-USSR-U.S. Appeal for Cease-Fire Observance

LD1212232591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2140 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 12 (TANJUG)—The Soviet Union, the United States and the European Community (E.C.) sent an "urgent call" to Serbia, Croatia and the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) to ensure immediate and complete implementation of the cease-fire agreement signed in Geneva on November 23.

The statement from the U.S. Embassy, conveyed to TANJUG tonight, specifies that the ambassadors of the Soviet Union, the U.S. and the charge d'affairs of the Netherlands today visited Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Deputy Federal Secretary for National Defence Stane Brovet and conveyed to them an appeal of the Soviet Union, the U.S. and the Presidency of the E.C. The appeal contains, as specified in the statement, an "urgent call" for ensuring immediate and full implementation of the cease-fire agreement signed in Geneva on November 23.

The consuls general of the U.S. and the Soviet Union delivered an identical appeal to Croatian President Franjo Tudjman in Zagreb, the U.S. Embassy statement sets out.

Germany Expected To Recall Ambassador 17 Dec

AU1312093891 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 13 Dec 91

[Excerpt] According to unofficial reports, Germany will break its diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia if Ante Markovic leaves the post of a president of the Federal Executive Council. The same unofficial sources claim that Bonn has decided to recall its ambassador in Belgrade on 17 December and reduce the Germany Embassy staff to a minimal level. [passage omitted]

Croatian Pilotless Planes Purchased in FRG

LD1212222191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1755 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 12 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily POLITIKA today writes that "flights of remote-control, pilotless aircraft," "purchased in Germany," have been detected on battlefronts in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

The particular type of aircraft are detected on radars as if they were fighter planes of the type "MiG-21" or "F-16," so that the "Yugoslav anti-aircraft defense is constantly kept in a state of raised or highest combat preparedness," as the daily sets out.

POLITIKA writes that the "novelty on the battlefront is an indication of the degree of foreign interference in the war developments in Yugoslavia." "After the German uniforms and helmets (from the arsenal of the ex-German Democratic Republic), and the anti-armored

systems "armburst" (from the arsenal of the Bundeswehr), we now have also pilotless aircraft," the Belgrade daily sets out.

POLITIKA draws attention to the fact that Germany has not scrapped or sold the arsenals of the ex-German Democratic Republic and that, "according to some information, those arms will be delivered to Croatia."

The daily specifies that the deliveries will be made "after Croatia is internationally recognized, first of all by Germany," which the Bonn government has said it will do on December 17. "Germany will in return get concessions in the Croatian Adriatic ports, big deals in the reconstruction of the Croatian economy, and new sites for the depositing of nuclear wastes," POLITIKA writes.

The daily says that "Italy, too, is in the arms game," and that the "first group of Croatian pilots are being trained in Ancona to fly "Tornado" and "F-16" types of aircraft."

POLITIKA recalls that the "authorities in Croatia are obstructing the implementation of the signed agreement" on the evacuation of the air force overhauling complex Zmaj in Zagreb, capital of Croatia. The daily writes that "as many as 42 combat aircraft are at various stages of overhauling" at the Zmaj complex in Zagreb. It specifies that the 42 aircraft are of the types "Galeb," "Jastreb" and "Super-Galeb," all three of which are Yugoslav-made, and of the types "MiG-21" and "MiG-23."

According to POLITIKA, the MiG-23s which are at the Zmaj overhauling complex in Zagreb belong to the "Iraqi Air Force." The daily writes that the aircraft arrived at the overhauling complex in Zagreb "before the Gulf war, and have not been delivered to Baghdad because of the U.N. embargo against Iraq."

Slovenia, Russia Sign Trade Agreement

LD1212173591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1121 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Ljubljana, Dec 12 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia and the Russian Federation have signed their first trade agreement outside the official Yugoslav and Soviet federal bodies. The trade agreement envisages for mutual trade to reach 700 million dollars in 1992, payable in hard currency, the Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI writes. Under the agreement, Russia is to deliver to Slovenia 700,000 tons of oil and 450,000 tons of oil derivatives and coal. In exchange, Slovenia is to deliver to the Russian Federation medicaments, foot wear, bakery equipment, and other industrial equipment.

Austrian Province Seeks Border Guarantees

LD1112225191 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2000 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] In a letter today to Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock, Carinthian Provincial Governor Christof Zernatto asked that as a condition for recognizing Slovenia Austria should ask Slovenia to recognize its present border with Austria. Slovenia must be a legal successor to state to Yugoslavia in relation to Austria, that is to say in relation to the Austrian state border agreement signed on 8 April 1965. Zernatto believes that Slovenia shoudl take on Yugoslavia's commitments arising out of that agreement.

On the other hand the Carinthian provincial governor supports the view by a group of Austrian international law experts who a few days ago expressed the view that as one of the countries-signatories of the Austrian State Treaty Slovenia cannot be a legal successor state to Yugoslavia. [sentence as heard]

Milosevic, Romanian Foreign Minister Hold Talks

AU1212162991 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Today Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic received Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase who is visiting our country. Milosevic and Nastase spoke about relations between Serbian and Romania and the situation in Yugoslavia. They concluded that relations between Serbia and Romania are stable and that they are characterized by mutual understanding. Cooperation in the economic sphere and mutual interest in further development of economic relations will particularly contribute to this.

During the talks they paid particular attention to Serbia's efforts to find political solutions to the Yugoslav crisis. Romania expressed readiness to contribute to this and to continue to develop comprehensive relations and good neighborly cooperation with Yugoslavia in the joint interest of finding a peaceful solution to the crisis in Yugoslavia quicker and consolidating stability in this region.

The talk was also attended by Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic and Romanian Charge d'Affaires Konstantin Girga.

Croatia's Separovic Solicits Swedish Recognition

LD1212234291 Zareb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Zvonimir Separovic, foreign minister of the Republic of Croatia, today met Foreign Minister Margaretha af Ugglas of the Kingdom of Sweden. In frank talks, Dr. Separovic asked that the Swedish Government to join the group of states which will recognize Croatia before Christmas. Mrs. af Ugglas voiced the sympathy of the Swedish people for the citizens of Croatia and told Minister Separovic that Sweden is closely following the developments in connection with the recognition of Croatia and Slovenia and that it will adopt a final decision after the EC meeting.

Croatia Assembly President Tours Latin America

WA1212183191

For reportage on the visit by Croatian Assembly President Zarko Domljan to Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay, including remarks he made on the arms shipment reportedly destined for Croatia and seized in Hungary, please see the appropriate country sections of the 12 December Latin America DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Federal

Presidency Issues Statement on Vance Mission

LD1212224691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2017 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency has carefully considered the results of the recent talks between the special UN envoy Cyrus Vance and responsible personalities from the federation and republics, the SFRY Presidency says in a statement released to TANJUG.

The SFRY Presidency, the document continues, pays tribute in this way, too, to the efforts of the UN secretary general and those of his special envoy invested in creating conditions for civil security and the stabilization of the situation in the crisis areas in Croatia in order to prevent further casualties, destruction and suffering, and facilitate further talks on a definite and comprehensive solution to the problems posed by the Yugoslav crisis.

The SFRY Presidency, in its capacity as collective head of state and supreme command of the Yugoslav Armed Forces, confirms its sole and unambigous commitment to a peaceful and democratic solution to the Yugoslav crisis in cooperation with the United Nations and other international bodies, the statement continues.

In this respect, the SFRY Presidency highly appreciates the positions of the UN Secretary General and those of his special envoy which point out, with full justification, that recognizing the separate international status of any part of Yugoslavia will only deepen the Yugoslav crisis, preventing the UN's further constructive involvement.

Bearing in mind the utmost significance of this sensible approach, the SFRY Presidency points out that such a decision, at odds with international law, will possibly pave the dangerous way for secessionism on European soil and trigger many new friction points, something that will have a devastating effect on the already achieved degree of international trust and cooperation and reverse positive democratic proceses in Europe and the world.

The SFRY Presidency notes that the SFRY Assembly and the Federal Executive Council as well as the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia have formulated positions whereby the declarations of independence of Croatia and Slovenia are rendered unconstitutional, and the consequences of these decisions are null and void. These stands have not been changed as they are an expression of the vital interests and rights of Yugoslavia's peoples, in line with the interests and rights of any other people in a sovereign country.

The SFRY Presidency also recalls the position, which was in concert with the EC's opinion, that any possible departure from the Yugoslav state is possible only as the result of a democratic procedure, while this decision on the part of all the Yugoslav peoples is to be part of a comprehensive solution to the Yugoslav crisis. Prejudicing the outcome of this democratic process by other states constitutes the most serious attack on the SFRY's sovereign rights and is a violation of international law and justice, the SFRY Presidency's states in conclusion.

Chamber Potests Sanctions, FRG Suspension Act

LD1212182891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1507 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—The Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly adopted today conclusions and a special statement concerning the EC measures against Yugoslavia, which state that the sanctions are a serious breach of the principles of international law and economic relations.

The discriminatory application of the sanctions on a selective basis, against a part of the territory of Yugoslavia as a sovereign country and an internationally recognized entity, is yet another breach of the principles of international law, and an unprecedented act in international relations.

The conclusions stress that the unilateral decision of the German Government to suspend the bilateral agreement in the field of traffic between the two countries is incompatible with the universal principles of international cooperation.

The Federal Chamber considers, as the special statement adopted today stresses, that all the controversial issues concerning Yugoslavia as a sovereign country must be resolved in a democratic way, without the use of force and violence, through the activity of the United Nations, the Nonalignment Movement, and The Hague conference.

Defense Secretariat Extends Military Service

LD1312123191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1026 GMT 13 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Dec (TANJUG)—In the conditions of immediate war danger facing the country, the Yugoslav Peoples' Army (JNA) and the Territorial Defense are carrying out tasks of crucial importance for defense against advancing fascism, and in order to prevent the spread of civil war and genocide against the Serbian nation in Croatia. This is why lasting and stable recruitment to, and an appropriate numerical size of the army commensurate with the need to maintain the essential combat readiness of its units and institutions, must be

ensured. This is also necessary because a general mobilization has not been declared, says a statement released today by the public information department of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense.

In light of this, the SFRY Presidency, at its 10 December session, in keeping with its constitutional and legal authority, and obligations and responsibilities, adopted an order keeping soldiers who joined the JNA during 1991—soldiers doing their military service—for up to a further three months upon completion of their present term of military service. Reservists can be drafted into war units of the JNA and Territorial Defense for up to four months. Those soldiers doing their military service who are currently in war units can also be retained for the same period, the statement notes.

The order expressly specifies that the call-up of reservists must be carried out in the most balanced possible way, with the proviso that appropriate recruitment to war units is ensured. In this way military service among reservists is made equal to that of all those obliged to do military service. A distinction is drawn only in relation to soldiers who are retained for up to three months as soldiers doing their military service, because by this time they are fully trained. Reservists may be called up for up to four months because within this period they must be trained and, as required, retrained for other duties, especially the handling of modern weaponry, equipment, and complex systems.

This period at the same time makes possible a planned replacement of units engaged in fighting, relaxation, and the use of soldiers' leave.

As hitherto, it states, all those doing their military service who, in keeping with this order, are retained for duty in the armed forces, have the right to appropriate remuneration as set out in the currently valid regulations, and all other rights of reservists doing their military service.

The consistent implementation of the adopted solutions is vitally necessary for every citizen of our country, because in this way the conditions for resolving the future of the Yugoslav peoples in a peaceful and dignified way are ensured, the statement stresses.

TANJUG Chief Editor Resigns To Prevent 'Rift'

LD1312091991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1528 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 12 (TANJUG)—Mladen Arnautovic, editor in chief of the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG, today informed the agency's Board of Editors and Workers' Council that he had asked the federal government to relieve him of the post he has held for seven years. Arnautovic said that he was resigning because he wanted to help prevent a rift among TANJUG's employees and contribute to the stabilization of the situation in the agency.

Arnautovic said that he was for a professional and market-oriented news agency which would recognize no geographical, national, ideological or other borders.

Slovenia, Croatia To Establish Diplomatic Ties

LD1212214991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2001 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Ljubljana, Dec 12 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav republics of Slovenia and Croatia intend to establish diplomatic relations, TANJUG learned today from reliable sources in Ljubljana. Documents on establishing diplomatic relations between the Yugoslav republics "as sovereign and independent states", according to the same sources, should be signed by their highest representatives next week. Embassies in Ljubljana, i.e. Zagreb, would then be opened, as learned by TANJUG.

Slovenia and Croatia unilaterally proclaimed secession on June 25 this year and in early October cut off all state and legal links with Yugoslavia and sought international recognition.

The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia and the highest organs of the country claimed the decisions on the secession of Slovenia and Croatia as unilateral and unconstitutional acts without legal effect within international frameworks. Slovenia and Croatia did not receive recognition from a single internationally recognized state in the world. Germany and Austria have announced that they would recognize the republics before Christmas.

England, Spain, France and some other E.C. countries pointed out that the unilateral recognition of Slovenia and Croatia would lead to the escalation of the war in Yugoslavia and the aggravation of the situation in the entire region. The U.S. recently set out a similar stand, insisting on an agreement of all Yugoslav republics by peaceful means and negotiations.

U.N. Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar, ahead of a session of the U.N. Security Council on the Yugoslav crisis, sent a letter to the E.C. in which he warned that the recognition of Slovenia and Croatia should not be rushed into.

Presidency, Krajinas Consult on UN Involvement

LD1212235191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2037 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—In the Palace of the Federation in Belgrade today a consultative meeting took place between the members of the SFRY Presidency and representatives of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina, the Serbian Region of Slavonija, Baranja and Western Srem, the Serbian Autonomous Region of Western Slavonija, and individual Serbian municipalities from these regions. The meeting was presided over by Vice President Branko Kostic, a statement from the meeting says. Also taking part in the work

of the meeting were representatives of the Federal Secretariats for National Defense, Internal and Foreign Affairs, and other officials.

In accordance with the conclusion of the last meeting held on 9 December, today's meeting continued the exchange of views on the basic elements of the agreement on the involvement of UN peacekeeping forces in Yugoslavia.

EC Sanctions To Affect 70% of Exports

LD1212222891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1218 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 12 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Assistant Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Boran Karadjole said today that the sanctions imposed on Yugoslavia by "almost all members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) will affect around 70 percent of Yugoslavia's exports."

Addressing the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav bicameral parliament, Karadjole said that this would put the Yugoslav economy under "the most perfect protectionist regime." He described the EC sanctions imposed on November 8 as an "unprecedented measure in contemporary diplomacy." "It is unrealistic to expect from the EC to lift the sanctions before it has achieved its strategic goals concerning Yugoslavia," Karadjole said.

Bosnia, Serbia Discuss Economic Cooperation

AU1212202891 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Today representatives of the Bosnia-Hercegovina and Serbia governments agreed that the links between the economies of the two republics imply not only a continuation but an expansion of cooperation in all sectors. This particularly refers to food deliveries to Bosnia-Hercegovina.

This was stated at the meeting of the two delegations headed by Bosnia-Hercegovina Vice President Miodrag Simovic and Serbia Vice President Nikola Stanic. The statement issued after this meeting points out that changes in circumstances and conditions for conducting economic operations demand that business relations among enterprises and banks, as well as relations between trade and communication sectors, be adapted to the new conditions. It was thereby agreed that activities of the governments and ministries should promote mutually beneficial economic cooperation in an organized fashion, and that measures which may disturb normal trade and financial traffic should not be taken.

It was agreed that it is in both sides' interest to jointly organize inspections of internal affairs and judiciary organs with a view to preventing all forms of unlawful trade, including the smuggling of arms, narcotics, and foreign exchange, speculation in basic agricultural products, money laundering, and other abuses of goods and money, the statement points out.

Both sides also agreed to take measures on removing trade restrictions and ensuring the delivery of goods that have been paid for, the statement points out in conclusion.

Baranja Commander: Croatia Preparing Invasion

LD1312121791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0943 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Knezevi Vinogradi, 13 Dec (TANJUG)—In Hungary, Major Borivoj Dobrokes, Territorial Defense headquarters commander in Baranja, claims there are at least 500 saboteurs, who are members of the Croatian paramilitary formations, who are preparing for an invasion of the free territory of the Serbian region. We have recently prevented the raids of several of these groups, he stresses, and we crushed them by strong action and thwarted their intention to kill and cause material damage in Baranja.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Participation in Federal Assembly Blocked

LD1312042191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2240 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Sarajevo, Dec 12 (TANJUG)—The parliament of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina today denied authority to its delegation in the federal parliament to take part in decision-making regarding the draft decision on a joint monetary and credit policy and amendments to the customs tariff law.

The clubs of deputies of the Muslim Party for Democratic Action (SDA) and the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) said that they do not wish to take part in the work of the rump federal organs.

The deputies from the Yugoslav Republics of Croatia and Slovenia left the federal parliament after their respective republican parliaments unilaterally decided to secede from Yugoslavia.

The laws, which should be debated by the federal parliament according to the HDZ deputies, "wish to further enable the printing of money from the primary issue for financing the dirty war and the federal organs of a non-existant state."

The HDZ urged the protection of the economic interests of Bosnia-Hercegovina by issuing its own currency which would be called the gros.

The deputies from the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) are not taking part in the parliament of Bosnia-Hercegovina since the deputies of the SDA and HDZ, with whom they share power in this multi-national republic, adopted a decision on Bosnia-Hercegovina's sovereignty.

Republic Chamber Rejects Government Reshuffle

AU1212163791 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Ljubomir Nikolic report from Sarajevo]

[Text] The deputies of the Chamber of Communes and the Chamber of Citizens of the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina did not accept the proposal that the republican government be immediately reshuffled. Forming an inner cabinet of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Government was postponed. It was recommended that this proposal be reexamined because, as stated, there is a danger of the usurpation and abuse of authority by four people, the president and three vice presidents of the government.

The Chamber of Communes adopted a bill according to which Titov Drvar changes its name. In the future this town will be called Drvar, as in the past. The chambers did not adopt some federal acts, above all those that refer to the budget of the federation. They were rejected by the deputies of the Party of Democratic Action and the Croatian Democratic Community.

Today's separate sessions of the chambers of the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina represent an introduction to tomorrow's session that will continue the discussion on the economic and social situation in the republic. The deputies will have to decide on the demand by Bogic Bogicevic that his conduct in the SFRY Presidency be assessed.

At a regular news conference in the headquarters of the Serbian Democratic Party, its president, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, said that if the blue helmets do not come to Croatia to separate Serbs from Ustasha forces, there is a danger of a long, exhausting war. Karadzic again spoke against the deployment of the blue helmets in Bosnia-Hercegovina, because there is no war in this republic. However, Karadzic said, peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina can be preserved only through negotiations among the three ruling national parties. Karadzic did not know when these talks will start.

In his view, the conditions set for the beginning of these talks by the Party of Democratic Action and the Croatian Democratic Community were unacceptable. The Party of Democratic Action holds the view that negotiations cannot be held on the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina, while the Croatian Democratic Community demands from the Serbian Democratic Party that the Serbian deputies return to the republican assembly and condemn the decision by the Government of Serbia banning the export of food. Food from Serbia must not be resold at considerable higher prices in Croatia and Slovenia from here, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party, stressed.

Serb Party Seeks SFRY Recognition of Slovenia

AU1212151391 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Dec 91

[Text] Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina, today sent a letter to Milan Kucan, president of the Republic of Slovenia, and France Bucar, president of the Slovene Assembly, in which he calls on them to ask the SFRY Assembly to begin the process of recognizing Slovene autonomy and independence.

Radovan Karadzic thinks that the moment this process begins, the tension both in Yugoslavia and in the EC will be released. In the opinion of the president of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Slovenia can attain international recognition only if it is first recognized by Yugoslavia, from which it is in fact seceding.

Bosnian Serbs 'Demand' JNA Protection

AU1212165191 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] The Assembly of the Serbian People of Bosnia-Hercegovina today sent a demand to the Yugoslav People's Army asking it to defend with all the available means the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina on which the Serbian people and other citizens held a referendum on staying in the joint state of Yugoslavia as integral parts of Yugoslavia. The demand mentions the conclusion of this assembly on the territories of communes, local communities, and populated places in Bosnia-Hercegovina that are considered to be territories of the federal state of Yugoslavia. The demand reminds the army of the conclusions of 21 November that require the army to protect the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and constitutional order of the country.

Bosnian SDA Approves Interparty Talks

AU1212151691 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Dec 91

[Text] At today's news conference held by the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] of Bosnia-Hercegovina most attention was devoted to the proposal of the Serbian Democratic Party on organizing an interparty agreement about the further destiny of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Representatives of the SDA of Bosnia- Hercegovina today pointed out the party's orientation toward a democratic agreement. However, in their opinion, one can discuss all matters except the matter of the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In this party's opinion, the negotiations should be held within legal organs of authority, but it nevertheless does not exclude the possibility of an interparty agreement.

It was pointed out at the news conference that this party once again condemns the vandal attack on Dubrovnik and the behavior of the Serbian authorities against SDA leaders. Journalists have also been informed about the

behavior of the ruling party in the commune of Rudo where at the latest Assembly session, which the SDA deputies did not attend, a decision was made to replace three members of the Executive Committee who are members of the SDA.

Croat Party Condemns Attacks Against Members

AU1112203491 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Text] In a statement issued today, the Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Hercegovina addressed the official republican bodies with regard to the recent attacks against its members.

Marin Totic, vice president of the Executive Council of the Mostar Communal Assembly, was brutally beaten in Mostar recently. Last night enemies of peace destroyed the house of Ivica Kovacevic, a noble and respected citizen of Bosanska Gradiska. This was done only because they are Croats and members of the Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

We address the government and the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, asking them to say once and for all if they can ensure peace, order, and security for their citizens. We believe that the government and Interior Ministry can do this and that they do not need any assistance from the reservists.

Croatia

Air Force Units Barred From Evacuating Zagreb

LD1312003191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2131 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Bihac, December 12 (TANJUG)—A column of vehicles transporting from Croatia the equipment of the Yugoslav Air Force institute "Zmaj" of Velika Gorica continues blocked at the Zagreb Pleso airport. The column was blocked by Croatian National Guard forces, as announced on Thursday night by military sources in Bihac (Bosnia-Hercegovina).

The Croatian authorities, as claimed by these sources, do not permit the take off of fighter planes and non-weapon-carrying aircraft towards other parts of the country. The military authorities in Bihac believe that this was an international stalling, since poor weather was expected in the coming days.

As announced at the military command press center in Bihac, all this was being done to render impossible the evacuation the last of the convoys of the Yugoslav Air Force and anti-aircraft units from Croatia.

Cease-Fire Breached in Dubrovnik Region

LD1212201591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Report by correspondent Blasko Raguz from Dubrovnik's western front]

[Text] The cease-fire signed five days ago and covering the area of the Dubrovnik municipality and the municipalities of Ploce and Metkovic was breached at about 0945 this morning. From strongholds at Oslje and Rudine the enemy has been pounding Croatian positions and civilian targets in the villages of Stupa, Topolo, Imotica, and Stedrica in the Ston hinterland. The enemy is attacking with artillery weapons, howitzers, long-range artillery, and [word indistinct]. The Croatian army returned the fire fiercely.

Explosions can be heard in Neum municipality [Bosnia-Hercegovina]. After a brief truce, the population has again been given good reason to feel apprehensive since they know that the enemy does not respect borders and pounds everything that is Croatian and where Croats live. At the moment the enemy's guns are not targeted at the town of Ston which was partially demolished during the previous attack.

Croat Navy Reportedly Tests Remote Control Boats

LD1312040391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2254 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Pula, Dec 12 (TANJUG)—The commander of the Pula garrison Captain Dusan Rakic, warned tonight that members of the "Croatian navy" are testing remote control boats full of explosives which could be used to attack ships of the Yugoslav Navy.

Ships of the Yugoslav Navy are transporting army weapons and equipment which are being shipped out of barracks and bases in Croatia.

Captain Dusan Rakic, at a news conference attended by old and new E.C. monitor mission teams, marked December 25 as the deadline for the withdrawal of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] units of the Pula Army-Navy sector, but said that the JNA "will probably leave before the expiry of the deadline."

JNA Vows To Protect Vukovar Cultural Heritage

LD1212173191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1309 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Vukovar, Dec 12 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav People's Army will do everything in its power to preserve the cultural heritage in Vukovar which has not been destroyed in the fighting, commander of Vukovar Lieutenant Colonel Milorad Voinovic told reporters today.

Lt. Col. Voinovic said that around 100,000 books from the famous Vukovar city library had miraculously remained undamaged during the fierce three-month

fighting in this eastern Slavonian town predominantly populated by Serbs. The treasure found in the Vukovar Castle—a gold-plated sarcophagus adorned with diamonds containing the embalmbed body of a Croatian Catholic saint—also remained undamaged.

Vukovar residents and potential visitors are advised to stay away from houses and backyards because many mines have still not been defused. Lt. Col. Voinovic also warned citizens to beware of the remaining members of Croatian paramilitary formations who are hiding in cellars of some buildings and added that the army recently captured two such groups.

Fighting in Vinkovci, Osijek, Slavonia Updated

LD1212220591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1854 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 12 (TANJUG)—Members of the Croatian National Guard and police this afternoon attacked from the area of the village of Nustar, near the town of Vinkovci, Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) positions in a nearby village, according to federal military sources. According to the same sources, the Croatian side opened fire from mortars. One federal army tank was damaged, but there were no casualties.

Croatian radio, which is subject to the censorship decreed by the Croatian president, reported that artillery fire was opened from federal army positions on Vinkovci, a town in eastern Slavonia. It was relatively quiet in the area of Osijek, the center of eastern Slavonia, today, as TANJUG reporters filed.

Croatian radio reported that "there were no fierce attacks on the town." The federal military sources said nothing today about the situation in Osijek and around it.

No reports were available late in the afternoon about the situation in western Slavonia, where, according to federal military sources, fierce battles were fought today.

Battles were fought near Novska and Nova Gradiska, whereas it was quiet in the areas of Lipik and Pakrac, according to today's communique of the command of the JNA's Banja Luka Corps.

Prisoner Exchange Takes Place in Karlovac

LD1212203791 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] The exchange of prisoners finally took place shortly before 1600 in the Turanj suburb of Karlovac, near the village of Gojak on the Plitvice road. A total of 41 people arrived in Karlovac from the Knin and Stara Gradiska prisons—ill and exhausted civilians, soldiers, and policemen. Altogether 288 prisoners were handed over to the opposite side.

The cease-fire has been holding since after 1600 on battlefields around Karlovac and the front along the Kupa and the Korana.

Opposition Accuses Tudjman of Bolshevik Method

92BA0194A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Nov 91 p 1

[Article by A.S.: "Tudjman Accused of Bolshevism"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Following Croatian President Franjo Tudjman's address to the nation, the situation in Zagreb and Croatia is not completely clear. Radoje Arsenic, our correspondent in Zagreb, illustrates the present disintegration by describing the exchanges of gunfire in Zagreb's bars and restaurants and on its streets. Some of the opposition politicians and leaders of opposition parties have been issuing various accusations against Tudjman and the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ]. The charges against Tudjman that he has "applied the old bolshevik method" or the recollection that the present commander in chief was once a major in the JNA's [Yugoslav People's Army's] counterintelligence service [KOS] certainly do not help to clear up the general confusion. Extraordinary elections have even been demanded.

Not Just Paraga

Zagreb, 25 Nov—No one can say with certainty at this moment what will happen in Zagreb and Croatia, which is under pressure from internal divisions and exchanges of gunfire following the serious blows around Vukovar and the diplomatic fudging in Europe and throughout the West. It is certain, however, that the tension and uneasiness are growing. Many believe that the chance for peace in Yugoslavia will in fact depend on the outcome of the showdown that has begun with the extremist forces of the fascist ultraright. If Paraga's extremists, supported by former politicians of the "mass movement" such as Mika Tripalo and Kresimir Dzebo, broaden their support, then a very uncertain period is opening up before all of Croatia, Yugoslavia, and perhaps even the region in general.

"Dr. Franjo Tudjman's address to the nation was an attempt to shatter Croatian national unity," was the assessment carried by TANJUG of Ante Djapic, vice president of the Croatian Rights Party [HSP], who went on to say that Tudjman "is doing everything to cast the responsibility for his incompetence onto the HSP." "We will be doing everything not to be drawn into a civil war, but also to remove from the seats of power in Croatia those who are committing breaches of democracy," Djapic said. Before that, he denied that the HOS [Croatian Armed Forces] is a paramilitary and profascist grouping. Djapic also demanded extraordinary elections and demanded a "TV confrontation with Tudjman or with those whom Tudjman designates."

Kresimir Dzebo, vice president of the Croatian People's Party [HNS], also reacted publicly to Tudjman's address. He pointed to "the mistakes and shortsighted moves of the government." He also said that the state is not being governed by law and that elements of totalitarian authority are getting stronger.

A member of the very top leadership of that party, Mika Tripalo, once a distinguished communist official, described yesterday's address by the president of Croatia as unacceptable. Tripalo said of Tudjman's assertions concerning Dobroslav Paraga and Milo "Hawk" Dedakovic that this was a case "of the old bolshevik methods" of accusing those who think differently. Assessments have also been made to the effect that President Tudjman is a former major in the counterintelligence service and that the Croatian people should decide "who is HOS and who is KOS."

Our correspondent in Zagreb reports that the epilogue of a sort from yesterday's showdown between members of the MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and the People's Guard Corps [ZNG] have so far come down to two seriously wounded policemen and two members of the ZNG.

That conflict began shortly after 0400 hours at the intersection of Hajnci and Belgrade Streets. A van with Sarajevo license plates carrying four persons in camouflage uniform encountered a police patrol. As it was passing the patrol, someone fired two shots from the van. The patrol immediately radioed its superiors, and an attempt was made to block the van at the Lisinski Concert Hall in Zagreb. However, the van turned toward the Sava. It was halted only at the Zagreb Fairgrounds. When the police attempted to identify the fugitives, the latter seized the policeman Ivica Radecic and drove him away as a hostage. He got away and tried to run, but he was downed by a burst of fire and seriously wounded. After that, there was shooting from both sides. The conflict that ensued was halted by a special unit of the MUP after two policemen and two Guards were wounded.

The tenseness of the situation is evident from the fact that in the bistro Rio in Dubrava there was a showdown two nights ago between members of the HOS. One was killed and several were wounded. According to what the police have determined, Naser and Mirsad Ismaili, brothers and members of the HOS, were in that bistro with another uniformed man. They were all armed with kalashnikovs, and then two armed members of the HSP army came in. Someone also threw a hand grenade, which exploded on the sidewalk, seriously wounding three passersby. This is a fragment from the unpleasant atmosphere in Zagreb. Coming days are awaited with uncertainty and disquiet.

[Box, p 1]

Paraga Has Begun a Hunger Strike

Dobrislav Paraga, the arrested president of the Croatian Rights Party (HSP), is on a hunger strike in the Remetinec prison in Zagreb. He has been joined by nearly half of the inmates, newsmen were told today by Zvonimir Hodak, Paraga's lawyer, who also said that his client has no health problems.

Hodak also introduced himself as counsel for Milo "Hawk" Dedakovic, commander of Vukovar's defense, who has been arrested in Zagreb. Referring to information which he had received from the controversial Croatian politician Ivan Zvonimir Cicak, Hodak said that "Dedakovic was imprisoned somewhere on Lascina" (the Maksimir area) and that "he is receiving very bad physical treatment." Hodak still has not contacted his client, "which under the law is possible only when they transfer Dedakovic to the investigatory prison."

Officials of the HSP have announced in connection with the arrest of Dobroslav Paraga public protest gatherings today in Split, tomorrow in Rijeka, and on Wednesday afternoon, as on past days, in Zagreb.

Article Examines Reasons for Paraga's Arrest

92BA0191A Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Nov 91 p 9

[Article by Jelena Lovric: "Why Paraga Was Arrested"]

[Text] It could easily happen that the fighters who escaped alive from the horror of Vukovar could come to grief in the center of Zagreb—at Croatian hands. In fact, after the arrest of Dobroslav Paraga, it seemed that a start had been made in carrying out the plan that was recently dropped that night when the defense and police ministries, with an incendiary communique, announced that they would settle accounts with the HSP [Croatian Rights Party], and when the units that were to do this by force of arms had already been designated. Then it proved possible to stop the conflict. When we asked Drazen Budisa late on Friday whether Paraga's arrest had nullified his peace-keeping actions at that time, he briefly said, "probably." He also added, however, that on this occasion as well he was working to keep the worst from happening. By tomorrow, he added, we would see whether he had succeeded. Many people believe that the shot at Starcevic's house—which was recently occupied by the members of the HSP—could have been the preface to a civil war in Croatia. The police circle around it has nevertheless been withdrawn, Paraga has been detained in jail, the members of the HOS [Croatian Armed Forces] are still on the battlefields, and they will not come to Zagreb to free their leader by force, as they had announced; they will fight for this by democratic methods. Passions are calming down, and one may think about why the leader of the HSP was actually arrested.

The first reports indicated that he was being charged with the criminal acts of attempting the violent overthrow of the legally elected authorities and the constitutionally established order, and forming armed units which had carried out a number of criminal acts, from illegal entry into apartments and robbery, to the smuggling of weapons which were intended for fighters, but were sold to citizens. Now Paraga, according to his defense attorney, is being charged with the preparation of an armed rebellion. There are many indications that this is primarily a political decision, which has to be put in connection with the way that the public was stirred up the whole week with communiques from the Supreme State Council about a conspiracy in the Croatian ranks. If Paraga's arrest were a sign that a law-governed state was beginning to function, at least in the area of undespoiled Croatia, then perhaps it could be understood. It is extremely unprincipled, however, to accuse only him of forming a party army, when we know who started this. It is not just the members of the HOS who have broken into apartments, spreading the feeling that citizens are not safe. It is likewise tasteless and hypocritical to accuse the HOS fighters of being the first ones to smuggle weapons, as if that fishy smell were coming from Paraga, and not from offices in the upper city, as one hears. Even if all of this is ignored, however, the accusation of an armed rebellion is too serious to be voiced without any arguments whatsoever. It is possible that the authorities have them, but then they should at least indicate them. What the public knows now does not suggest such conclusions.

The HSP members are admittedly not concealing the fact that they would like to overthrow Tudjman, and they often even directly threaten him. The question, however, is whether they have the strength to do it. They also would probably have been one of the "little parties" that the authorities are successfully marginalizing if Tudjman had not sent them his former adherents. All of those who no longer trust Tudjman have turned to Paraga, as a new hope. His increasingly greater strength and persuasiveness are derived from his determination to fight, but also from the vacillation and failure of the authorities. His power is derived from the weakness of others. He grows stronger as Tudjman grows weaker. To that extent, he is a serious threat. Paraga's party is more dangerous than the rest, because it is armed with nationalistic fanaticism and powerful and modern weapons. One foreign journalist, recently looking at pictures of the mass graves at Vukovar, said that in the end only Cetniks and Ustase would remain. The longer the war continues, the more people there are who are inclined toward extremism—to the point of your annihilation, or ours.... At this time, however, the HSP still could not win elections. Probably no one could have the kind of lopsided victory that happened in the last elections. This is not bad, because the victors' giddiness and arrogance were fatal for Croatia.

It is believed that the settling of accounts with the HSP was ordered from abroad, and that Tudjman offered Paraga's arrest as a ticket to the Geneva talks. Foreign sources are not concealing at all the fact that the settling of accounts with Paraga's nationalistic radicalism ought to speed up the recognition of Croatia, which is the card on which Tudjman has staked everything at this time. Europe does not have any sympathy for Paraga's Croatian fundamentalism. In view of the Croatian reputation from the previous war, which the world is not forgetting as easily as it appears here, any strengthening of forces which would cite continuity with the NDH [Independent State of Croatia] Croatia discredits Croatia before a Europe that is unified around the standard of antifascism. Tudjman has now washed his hands, like Pontius Pilate, although there are indications that he himself is close to that type of emigres that, while living far from their homeland, have preserved the visions that failed during the war; this can also be determined by looking over his close colleagues.

There is also a possibility that Paraga was eliminated because his determination to fight had become a threat to establishing a truce; and obviously, Croatia is preparing to lay down its weapons. What it will be called is another matter, and not the most important one now, although there is no doubt that an attempt will be made to interpret it as a triumph of the president's policy. It is surmised, however, that Paraga's arrest could also have another role. It seems that the Croatian forces did not leave Vukovar with their hands as clean as we would have liked to believe. Even previously, a government commissioner there was reporting executions in the name of the Croatian authorities. One may likewise believe that such incidents did not cease as the situation there became more critical. One may also guess that with the fall of Vukovar, sources and documents about this fell into enemy hands. One may also place in connection with this the arrest of Mile Dedakovic, against which, by the way, the opposition parties are not protesting at all, which could also demonstrate the level of their principles. One could turn out to be guilty of the Vukovar military defeat, and the other of everything in that battle that was dishonorable and discrediting to the Croatian side.

It is also possible that Paraga's arrest may combine all of those "advantages": removing a dangerous opponent and beheading his violent party, and heaping upon him the blame for the Croatian turn toward the right, which in some cases has exceeded all boundaries that can be justified and understood.

Macedonia

Gligorov Requests EC Recognition of Macedonia

LD1312095991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0017 GMT 13 Dec 91

[Text] Skopje, Dec 12 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Kiro Gligorov asked

today that the recognition of Macedonia also be considered at the meeting of the European Community countries' foreign ministers on December 16 in Brussels.

Gligorov said in a letter sent today to president of the E.C. Council of Ministers Hans van den Broek that the conditions existed for the recognition of Macedonia to be discussed alongside the recognition of the independence of Croatia and Slovenia. Gligorov said Macedonia had enacted basic acts on sovereignty and independence in a democratic manner, on the basis of a referendum. He said he expected Macedonia to be recognized as an independent state under the same conditions as all other Yugoslav republics which so desired.

Ristovski Complains of Albanian Border Raids

LD1212142391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1124 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Skopje, Dec 12 (TANJUG)—Albanians are increasingly often raiding Yugoslav border territories for reasons of plunder, says a ranking official in the government of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

Macedonian Vice-Premier and acting Defence Minister Blaze Ristovski says in an interview to the Skopje DAIWY REPLUBLIKA, carried today, that he has information that the "raids on Yugoslav territory are being undertaken with the connivance of the Albanian border units." Ristovski says that "there is evidence that the loot is shared between the raiders and the guards on the Albanian side, with the lion's share going to the guards."

He underlines a necessity for "consulting with the Yugoslav Army about this problem" and for Macedonia to set up its own border guard to protect the border to Albania.

Gligorov, Parties Views on Sovereignty Cited

92BA0189A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Nov 91 p 11

[Article by Dragan Bisenic: "The Marriage of the 'One-Eyed Bride'"]

[Text] In pursuing its "step-by-step" policy, Macedonia has proclaimed its new Constitution, which refers to this Yugoslav republic, still the southernmost, as an independent, self-sufficient, and sovereign state. To Kiro Gligorov, president of the republic, that "step-by-step" policy signifies insistence on peaceful solutions. Branko Crvenkovski, president of the Social Democratic Alliance, considers the credo of that policy to be peace and avoiding one-sided decisions and major changes of direction, "because radical solutions and major changes of directions have always ended badly." "Macedonia is not so strong territorially, militarily, or economically, to be able to impose its decisions on others," Crvenkovski feels, "but it can rely on democratic arguments and through them build an international reputation and achieve its objectives."

Step by Step—Out of Step

This distinction does not serve solely as credentials to be presented to the other members of the "Yugoslav community" and to the international public, but it is also a reproach of the right-wing national bloc in Macedonia itself, above all, the strongest party, the VMRO [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization], which has been in a rush to have Macedonia join the company of independent states. But on the first day of the Assembly's session, step by step got out of step.

A deputy from among the ranks of the reformers proposed an amendment whereby Macedonia is defined as the state of the Macedonian people, which has been the point of departure of the VMRO, while the Social Democratic Alliance [SDS] has advocated Macedonia as a civil state. And that amendment passed, because a majority of the deputies of the SDS were not in the chamber. Then they returned, the amendment was rejected in a second vote, but demonstrations of the "komitas" and members of the VMRO began in front of the Assembly building.

After that, of course, the analyses began. Did the "reformers" want to trick the SDS, leaving them behind as the only "nonethnic" party, and thereby gain points for themselves, or was there on the horizon some seemingly impossible coalition of "reformers" (now the Liberal Party) with the VMRO and the Albanian parties, which would make over Macedonia after the model of Bosnia-Hercegovina? These speculations turned out to be unfounded.

"The amendment that was adopted and then rejected was not an amendment of the Liberal Party at all, but of one of its deputies. That amendment was ultimately rejected," says Stojan Andov, rejecting any conspiracy whatsoever of the "reformers" against the SDS.

"The reformers have departed from the 'stereotype' several times, but it should be borne in mind that the left-wing bloc is not functioning on an institutional basis. The first time was when they called for 'nationalist' to be replaced by 'national group,' and that did not pass. The second, that Macedonia is the 'parent state of the Macedonian people,' did pass. In legal terms, this means nothing, and it is difficult to even translate it into any foreign language. Aside from that, this creates problems for Macedonians in Aegean and Pirin Macedonia and is raising problems in the diaspora," is the assessment of Branko Crvenkovski. At the same time, on the division of the "left-wing bloc" into "reformers" and Social Democrats in the election campaign, although the former League of Communists of Macedonia always emphasized its reformist orientation, Crvenkovski says that the SDS has nothing against the creation of such parties, but no one frees himself thereby of the mortgage of the "communist legacy." "We cannot be the only ones accused of communism when former Communists are also sitting in the leaderships of other parties," Crvenkovski says.

Exculpation Before the Voters

From the other end of the Macedonian political spectrum, from the VMRO, the reformist step to the side is interpreted quite differently. Dosta Dimovska, vice president of the VMRO, a philosopher by profession, says: "Our amendment did not pass because it could not pass. The reformers proposed their amendment on the assumption that it would not be adopted, that the VMRO would not vote for it, and they could thereby justify themselves before the voters and continue to sit in the left-wing bloc. However, we wanted to 'marry the bride' even if she did have only one eye. The leaders of the SDS were absent, so their deputies also voted. When the Albanian Democratic Prosperity Party [PDP] realized what had happened, they walked out of the session, because they had not agreed on anything of the kind with the left-wing bloc. At the insistence of Stojan Andov, the vote was taken again. The entire Macedonian public saw that, so that these parties lost a great deal with the Macedonian people."

The president of the Social Democratic Alliance rejects the possibility of "separate agreements" and a tailoring of the Constitution in an alliance with the Albanian parties.

"We had consultations only within the framework of parliamentary consultations with the president of the Assembly and the president of the republic along with other parties. We had no separate consultations. Had we had, the Albanian parties would presumably have voted for the 'civil' constitution. It is interesting that the VMRO is always attacking us for forming a coalition with the Albanians, but on several occasions it itself has proposed to the Albanian parties that they put together a coalition," Branko Crvenkovski says.

The bad experience of Croatia, which closed its eyes to the ethnic composition of its republic, and even now is looking at its territory with one eye, had a large role to play in Macedonia's option for formulating a civil rather than an ethnic state. Kiro Gligorov says: "I cannot imagine the Balkans in which every nationality lives in one state."

Something Else Is Involved

Had Macedonia been referred to as the state exclusively of the Macedonian people, there was a fear that the Albanians would then behave like the Serbs in Croatia. This internal problem that this republic would face would take away much energy that would be exhausted in conflicts.

"To err is human, but it is a real luxury to repeat the same mistakes which others have already made. Macedonia did not dare to repeat the Croatian mistake. I cannot imagine what would have happened if it had done that, but I would like to find out by trying," Branko Crvenkovski said.

Dosta Dimovska believes the dilemma between an "ethnic" or "civil" constitution is a false one. "Even the Albanians themselves did not vote for it, although it was not ethnic and met a high standard in the rights of minorities. They were still dissatisfied. Something else is involved. A segment in the PDP and in the Albanian people does not intend to live with the Macedonian people, and that is the point of departure of the hard-line wing of the PDP. It is looking for an excuse for aggressive moves which it intends to make, although there is a segment of the Albanian minority which has lived in Macedonia for a long time and traditionally has good relations with the Macedonians. Those Albanians who have come from Kosovo are the most aggressive," Dimovska said.

The VMRO, Dimovska said, is seeking a change of the Constitution. That is why Dragi Arsov and she did not vote for its adoption. In that way, we as a party wanted to gain credit for that change. When it was adopted, we were excluded, our representatives were outvoted. This way, 30 deputies have the right to seek a revision of the Constitution, and we will soon be doing that, Dimovska said.

A Macedonian Army?

Now that Macedonia has adopted its Constitution as a sovereign state, the question arises of what will happen with the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]? The Social Democratic Party voted against removing the defense minister.

"Macedonia should, of course, have its own army. What kind of independent and sovereign state would that be if it expected others to defend it? However, that will be defined by The Hague agreement and will depend on the association that is created from what up until now have been the republics," Branko Crvenkovski said.

"We think it is a mistake for the MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] to take the place of our armed forces, but rather we have TO [Territorial Defense], which ought to be the foundation of the Macedonian Armed Forces. We did not vote for removal of the defense minister because he wore a uniform, but because at the same time he worked according to military instructions, and he was also a member of the government. Current events have demonstrated that the Army and Macedonia will not always be on the same side, and the question was also raised of which side the minister would be on? That problem became a public issue a few days before his dismissal, and that was why we voted for removal."

But, as they say in the very top leadership of the republic, for the present, Macedonia is not preparing its own army, although NOVA MAKEDONIJA has advertised a competition for staff positions in the MUP in which there is no limit on the number of applicants accepted.

Guarantee of Rights for Macedonia Serbs Sought

92BA0190B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Nov 91 p 7

[Unattributed article: "Historical Necessity and Duty"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Milan Paroski has demanded that through a change in the constitutional law, Serbia guarantee the civil and human rights of Serbs in Macedonia.

Belgrade—"The separatist Macedonians have adopted a VMRO [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization] separatist constitution that has suspended Serbs as a state-creating people, putting them in the position of a nonexistent people in Macedonia, a historical Serbian territory in the SFRY or southern Serbia. Consequently, it is necessary to pass a law on the constitutional law's application for implementation of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia," deputy Milan Paroski stated at yesterday's press conference on behalf of the National Party.

According to that proposal, the Constitution is applied in all historical territories in which Serbia and the Serbian people enjoy the status of an independent and sovereign people, and in which the Serbian state has fulfilled its territoriality and statehood, and established borders with neighboring states through international treaties, with guarantees from peace conferences and international organizations and institutions, the UN, and the CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe]. Paroski considers adoption of this law on the application of the constitutional law to be a historical necessity, and emphasizes that it is essential that the parent Republic of Serbia, the original one by historical and state law in Macedonia, guarantee all civil and human rights to the Serbs in Macedonia.

Answering a question about what he thought about the forced mobilization of Nenad Canak, Paroski said that all mobilizations were forced, but that everyone was obliged to respond to them, in accordance with positive legal regulations. "Canak made a dirty and unacceptable political gesture by starting a rebellion in several Vojvodina opstinas; he deserved criminal sanctions, and his place is before a court," Paroski said.

Serbia

National Assembly Endorses Foreign Policy Report

LD1212235491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1935 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—At this evening's closed session of the Serbian National Assembly, Vladislav Jovanovic, republican minister for foreign affairs, submitted a report on Serbia's foreign policy activities. According to a statement from the Serbian Assembly information service, the deputies endorsed the report and particularly stressed the importance of the initiative for sending UN peacekeeping forces because, it was stressed, it is in the interests of peace and the protection of the free and secure existence of the Serbian nation in Serbian regions.

Serbian Renaissance Proposes Interim Government

LD1212225991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1058 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—Deputies of the Serbian Renaissance Movement [Srpski Pokret Obnove—SPO]—Mihailo Markovic, Zoran Horvan, and Miroslav Milutinovic—today proposed to the Serbian Assembly that it adopt a decision, in accordance with urgent procedures, to form an interim government of Serbia with a six month mandate.

The SPO deputies also propose that the chairmen of the parties that have deputies in the assembly and chairmen of deputies' groups be authorized to propose the composition of the new government within 15 days. It is the duty of this government, it is said, to prepare the elections for a constituent assembly and for the organs of authority in the municipalities. The elections should be held by 30 June 1992 at the latest.

The SPO deputies consider "that any explanation for the demand for the formation of an interim republican government is unnecessary, because Serbia is in a war situation and economic and political chaos."

The assembly, in connection with the demand of the SPO group of deputies, today concluded that it would discuss this at a session next week.

Countermeasures to EC Sanctions Considered

92BA0190A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Nov 91 p 7

[Article by V. Ilic, M. Torov, and S.P. Stamatovic: "List of Desires and Needs"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The government's plans and measures include increasing diplomatic activity, forming new banking institutions, establishing "certain commodity reserves," more efficient management of consumption, and conserving energy; Batric Jovanovic has proposed forming a coalition government of national unity.

Belgrade—At yesterday's meeting, the deputies of the Serbian National Assembly had an opportunity to hear everything that the government is planning and undertaking in order to mitigate the consequences of the European Community's economic sanctions. Deputy Prime Minister Nikola Stanic thus announced increased diplomatic activity with countries that can contribute to reducing the negative effects of the sanctions upon Serbia's economy, the organization of propaganda-promotional campaigns in the EC countries that are

important partners for Serbia, the formation of "appropriate structures for commodity reserves," and the introduction of energy conservation. Yesterday the Assembly removed from its agenda a package of tax laws, because a large number of amendments have been proposed, and "so it is necessary to consider all of this in detail."

Stating that an oil embargo was still a topical issue in the world, although "the initial attempt to introduce it failed," Nikola Stanic announced what still should be done. "The SFRY Presidency is expected to be as active as possible with respect to the members of the Security Council, and Serbia is expected to intensify its activity and cooperation with the developing countries," because "an embargo on oil for the economy of the republic and the country would mean a serious upheaval, and consequently it has to be prevented," Stanic said.

The Serbian government's measures and plans which should make the economic damage as bearable as possible also include a demand that the Federal Executive Council initiate proceedings in GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade] because of the discriminatory treatment of Yugoslavia. Other international institutions should be asked to review the unilateral breach of the Agreement on Cooperation. The Economic Chamber will be asked to have its joint trade representations ask business circles in the countries where they are located to persuade their governments to continue commercial cooperation freely. Furthermore, it is said that the intensification of relations with the USSR will be continued, and especially with the republics with which Serbia has cooperation agreements. Work will be done through the direct relationships of individual enterprises on collecting due and unpaid debts.

Nikola Stanic also emphasized that in contacts with international financial and other institutions, possibilities would be investigated for ensuring access to the international capital market, and that a Serbian development bank would be formed with a priority foreign investment. The task of that bank is, "unhampered by the burden of the weaknesses of the existing banking system, to provide adequate financial assistance for Serbia's developmental and export activities, and to carry out financial transactions with foreign banks." The government is also thinking about preparing a balance sheet of import requirements and substitutes for imported goods, Serbia's export possibilities, and consequently also ensuring appropriate sources of supplies. The job of the competent ministries is to find a way to eliminate disruptions in the transportation of goods and passengers, prepare a program for modernizing transportation equipment, and solve some of the transportation problems.

Serbian enterprises which have wholly owned or joint firms abroad are expected to "expand business contacts while finding new opportunities to use trade and financial transactions to overcome the negative effects of the measures of the EC and other countries."

Among the proposals that were offered during the first part of the discussion, in the morning, were forming compensation funds for jeopardized export firms, more efficient management of the supply of vital products, especially oil, and "at least pedagogically more efficient management of the supply of certain other products." Batric Jovanovic (SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia]) declared the situation that has arisen to be "perhaps the most serious for the Serbian people in this century," and proposed forming a coalition government of national unity, because "the only solution for us now is harmony."

Vukovar Called 'Hiroshima' of Croatia, Serbia

92BA0191B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Dec 91 p 9

[Article by Vuk Draskovic: "Take Off Your Hats and Be Silent"—first paragraph is BORBA introduction]

[Text] I cannot congratulate the Vukovar victory, which is being celebrated so euphorically by a Serbia intoxicated by war propaganda. I cannot, because I cannot sin against the dead, the thousands of dead, or the imperishable pain and misery of all surviving inhabitants of Vukovar.

"They were damned for what they did to us!" cry both the surviving Serbs and Croats from Vukovar. In doing so, they usually mention two names.

No one, apparently, as a victim himself, can identify the epicenter of his suffering. "An independent Croatia or death!" said T. "A federation or death!" said M. Death was the only station at which they loaded their trains. The inevitable outcome of that policy is what is left of Vukovar.

It is no longer Vukovar, and never will be. It is the Hiroshima of both Croatian and Serbian insanity.

New Srem Front

The first blackshirts did not appear in that city until the end of last year, and were not accepted by a majority of the Croats there. The Yugoslav Army could have removed them with a single routine action. It did not do so. It waited for the dragon to grow and for the slaughters to begin. Then, and only then, the Army moved. Under the slogan of saving Serbs from Ustase, for months it bombarded a city in which there were many more civilians than Ustase, and among those civilians most were Serbs. The "Ustase" who died in Vukovar were mostly Serbs. It was mostly Serbs who died in Vukovar from the Army's grenades and bombs. Once again, it was mostly Serbs who suffered in the ranks of the Army. Thus, in the name of saving Serbdom, we gained a new Srem front and a new lament for our people.

Consequently, let me just call attention to the fact that Vukovar is the largest Serbian graveyard in this senseless

and shameful war, which does not mean that I do not equally regret every innocent Croatian casualty.

It is not only dishonorable, but also extremely difficult to distinguish between the misery of Serbs and Croats. Almost half of the inhabitants of Vukovar are from mixed Serbia-Croatian marriages; and in all of Yugoslavia, the former Yugoslavia, there were about 800,000 mixed marriages in the past 45 years. Close to 7 million people are ethnically mixed. Certainly, history will blacken all those who drove those millions of relatives into divisions and mutual destruction.

All of us in this state which no longer exists, and Serbs and Croats in particular, are living through days of the greatest disgrace and decline. Posterity will spit upon those who soiled wonderful and gentle and innocent Vukovar with black legions, and then even proclaimed it, destroyed and covered with blood, to be a Croatian Stalingrad. Posterity will also be ashamed of this dancing, this singing, and this carousing in a city that is a grave and a skeleton. One should take off one's hat and at least keep silent, and not celebrate a victory.

Sponge of Death

Little people, little according to the scope of their intelligence, but infinitely vainglorious and power hungry, rushed to hold their "formal meeting" in ghostly Vukovar, and to proclaim the corpse of the former city, from which screams were still reaching from all sides, to be their capital. They did not even wait to bury the dead. That rush for personal fortune through general misfortune is an example of both moral and political scavenging of the first degree.

From dead Vukovar, those guests of honor and those sole victors issued the command, "To Vinkovci, to Osijek!" You see, they wanted their state-hacienda to be somewhat more spacious, and so they decided to move against Croatian cities. They, and those who stand behind them, are not interested in the truth, that neither Vukovar nor Osijek was ever Serbian; and they threaten that if those Croatian cities do not surrender, their army will turn those cities into Vukovar. Hiroshima will be followed by Nagasaki!

And that "army" of theirs is young men from Serbia, who were mobilized for completely different motives. They went to war to defend Serbian lands, and not to conquer other people's. They went to die for Serbdom, and not for the vanity of certain generals or for the megalomaniac appetites of that happy government from miserable Vukovar.

How many lives has Serbia lost so far in this war? Why are the figures being concealed, and why are the names of the casualties kept secret? Losing 10,000 soldiers today is the same as losing 100,000 in 1914. That is what demographic science says. Eight decades ago, on the average, Serbian homes had six young men old enough to bear arms. Today, however, there is barely one soldier per family.

Serbia Is Threatened by Fascism

Those who rule Serbia today are not interested in this statistic. The president of the Republic has not once expressed commiseration with the mothers of Serbia. He only repeats that Serbia is not at war. Well, if it is not, then take it out of war, out of death, Mr. President! Take all of the soldiers from Serbia out from under the command of those want to "liberate" others.

Serbia has to be saved from the sponge that is seeking more and more blood, from the demented minds which are babbling about some sort of Karlovac-Karlobag-Ogulin-Virovitica border.

Let us only go up to what is ours, and not a step further; and what is ours is shown by the ethnic map of 1941, before the Ustasa genocide. Both Europe and the world have to [words indistinct] up to that point. If we cross that line, we will be severely punished, as conquerors, and then we will lose many areas that are ours.

Foreign troops are inevitably coming, to preserve peace or to establish it. It will be difficult for Serbia if it provokes the fate of Iraq, even if it believes that China is a power that will be able to protect it from international retaliation, both economic and military.

Croatia is preparing hastily for the arrival of the "blue helmets" and for the imminent recognition of its sovereignty. The arrest of Paraga, the commander in chief of the Ustasa, surprises only the naive. All the crimes against Serbs will be attributed to him and his blackshirts, and the stigma of fascism will be removed from Croatia's image—convincingly or unconvincingly, but such moves are made in a political gambit.

And what is being done in Serbia? Here, where there has never been fascism, the regime is trying to promote it to the central idea of the nation.

There are deputies sitting in the Assembly, and constantly on the TV screen, who are demanding that the nuclear power plant in Krsko be bombed, that a load of napalm bombs be poured onto Zagreb, and that Croatian children be killed "like dogs with sticks!"

The Serbian parliament is publicly ordering political murders, shootings, beatings, and expulsions from Serbia, and all of this is being carried out. Branislav Matic-Beli, a member of the Central Administration of the SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement] was shot on the doorstep of his own house. Party presidents are being arrested, and deputies from the democratic opposition are being sent to the front because they called this war a dirty [several words indistinct] of opposition parties and newspaper editors. The darkness is swallowing people up. Writer Rajko Djuric, the president of the World Congress of Gypsies, has been forced to flee abroad. Writer Vidosav Stevanovic also emigrated a few days ago, along with both of his children and his wife. He was previously beaten. The fascist SA [Serbian Army] detachments condemned him to exile from Serbia.

The leader of those SA detachments, to the disgrace of the so-called JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], is inspecting the latter's units on the battlefields!

Where does that alliance come from? From the fact that Bolsheviks and fascists have always been spiritual and mental relatives, and from the fact that circumstances have forced them to help each other.

The partisan cadre of the JNA and the ruling SPS [Serbian Socialist Party] are fighting to preserve both the communist foundations of their authority, and Yugoslavia. The SPS cannot rule Serbia without the aid of an ideological army, and that army cannot find itself a new husband, a new state, a so-called abandoned Yugoslavia, without the support of the SPS and the matchmaking services of the Serbian fascists.

All of the participants in this bilateral or trilateral pact are recoiling in panic from everything that is being demanded by Serbian youth: from democracy, from a nonideological Serbian army, from a nonideological press, television, judicial system.... That totalitarian pact is afraid of the power and judgment of the Serbia that tried on 9 March to open the gates of freedom.

Under the shelter of a war as long and as bloody as possible, as if the 9 March Serbia has to be reduced in number and crippled, the Serbia of the past is getting its revenge on the Serbia of the future. Many old men, who are on the brink of the grave, care more about saving the ideal of their youth than about the lives and youth of their grandchildren.

They have to be stopped.

[Box, p 9]

Every kingdom that is divided against itself will fall, and every city or house that is divided against itself will not stand (the New Testament).

Ethnic Hungarian Views Situation in Vojvodina

AU1112164191 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Dec 91 p 7

[Interview with Janos Vekas, deputy chairman of the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians, by Nandor Pilcz; place and date not given: "Vojvodina Fears"]

[Excerpts] [Pilcz] The Serbian Government is threatening to ban the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Croatians, the Democratic Action Party of the Serb Muslims, and the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians [VMDK]. Is this threat real?

[Vekas] First of all, I would say that, the way we see it, we are facing two problems in Yugoslavia, and particularly in Serbia, problems that are perhaps related. On the one hand, we are witnessing a need for a change in the political regime. On the other hand, we find ourselves facing an ethnic exclusivity. The main question for us is what strategy to use to take a clear stand—both at home and on the international arena—in favor of collective minority rights. On the other hand, we should also display an attitude with which we can help the global process of the change in the regime, because national intolerance might hinder this change in the regime. We think that the regime today is playing precisely this card. There is not yet a multiparty system in Serbia. The so-called opposition parties were either established by the government itself or emerged as a reflection of the prevailing government. I do not think that the minority organizations will be banned, including the VDMK, because the government can use them to display the image of democracy.

[Pilcz] Some people say that there is a war going on in Vojvodina, too, and voluntary units should be deployed to defend this region.

[Vekas] In my opinion, the current Serbian leadership is interested in maintaining stability in its own region. Obviously, it is not in their interest to destabilize the situation in Vojvodina now when they think they have the opportunity to carry out some kind of power expansion. [passage omitted]

[Pilcz] Rumor has it that camps have been set up around Zrenjanin in Vojvodina and perhaps in other places for Croatian prisoners of war and perhaps others. Is there any truth in this?

[Vekas] We also heard these rumors. It is now obvious, and we can also read about this in the newspapers, that such camps exist, and Croatian guardsmen are kept there. I also heard about opposition members from Belgrade being taken to these camps, but I do not have any proof of that.

[Pilcz] The Hungarian Foreign Ministry recently denied the allegations made by Serbia's Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic, according to which foreign mercenaries are being trained on Hungarian territory. What is the goal of these new Serbian accusations, after the more conciliatory tones recently?

[Vekas] Naturally, we also think that the relations between Yugoslavia and Hungary, and between Serbia and Hungary is one of the determining factors for the situation of the Hungarian minority, and so is the need for every formation that represents national minorities to develop the best possible relations with both governments and their activity should contribute to the smoothening of possible conflicts, rather than lead to the deepening of conflicts between the two states, the two governments, and the two nations. [passage omitted]

Antiwar Sentiment Increasing in Vojvodina

92BA0161A Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 11 Nov 91 pp 12-13

[Article: "Virus From Senta"]

[Text] The spontaneous rebellion by the inhabitants of Senta, which spread to Ada and Temerin, is an expression of the increasingly greater opposition to the war by the inhabitants of Vojvodina.

Last Thursday, an attempt to mobilize the Territorial Defense unit in Senta caused a spontaneous mass protest by the reservists and their families, but also other citizens of that town in Backa. That should not be a surprise: In any case Backa has borne a much greater burden from this war than would have been fair, and this also applies to the rest of Vojvodina. The inhabitants of Vojvodina are grumbling that the province is ruled by colonists from Montenegro and Hercegovina (Bozovic, Zelenovic, Sipovac, Kostic, etc.), and that it is easy for them to make their careers by offering the inhabitants of Vojvodina as cannon fodder for the ambitions of their chief, Milosevic. Additional tension is being introduced by refugees from Slavonia and their privileges, which—rightly or not—are frowned upon. Finally, the treatment of Vojvodina in "united," post-yogurt Serbia has caused more and more dissatisfaction, especially after the proposed territorial organization.

In such a political context of muffled dissatisfaction, anxiety over an unwanted war that does not mean anything to the inhabitants of Vojvodina, and frustration with the arrogance of the newly appointed communist leaders, the rebellion in Senta was not a big surprise. The population forced a special session of the Senta Opstina Assembly, which adopted a proposal to schedule a referendum, by a majority of votes.

Referendum on the War

Citing its statute and other documents, the opstina passed a decision on scheduling a referendum (scheduled for 14 November), with three questions:

1. Do you approve of this war?

2. Do you agree with having our fellow citizens participate in it?

3. Do you agree with having forcibly mobilized citizens, citizens who are on the battlefield and at training centers against their will, returned home immediately?

Novi Sad's DNEVNIK immediately predicted the outcome of the referendum the next day: In an article entitled "Canak Is Disrupting Things," it said, "It is not difficult to predict the outcome of the referendum that Canak is insisting on, after the unsuccessful mobilization of the TO [Territorial Defense] units, and when one bears in mind the fact that over 80 percent of the population is of Hungarian nationality." Thus, the referendum of the citizens of Senta (and the other accompanying events) became a trick by Nenad Canak, the president of the League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina/Yugoslavia, and not a decision by the citizens of Senta and their Opstina Assembly. Nenad Canak thus became the main state enemy of Vojvodina, because he was in Senta and tried to articulate the population's protest politically.

The virus of the antiwar rebellion also spread to Ada in the evening of 7 November. Over a thousand citizens gathered to demand the same referendum, and they were addressed by several antiwar activists, Hungarians and Serbs. "We do not want death to be sown where people should be giving birth," said Ferenc Pap of Novi Sad. In the meantime, the authorities found a way to cope: An attempt to have a delegation go from Senta to Temerin was blocked by a large group of heavily armed policemen. With aimed rifles, they turned the buses back, without an explanation, but the remarks "Don't stop until you reach Hungary!" were also heard. Novi Sad's DNEVNIK began to call the peace meetings "single-nationality" ones, and to exploit the support offered them by the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians [DZVM] and the Democratic Alliance of Croats in Vojvodina [DSHV]. The campaign began to assume the classic communist forms, equally well-known from the pre-yogurt and post-yogurt periods: A culprit—Nenad Canak—was chosen, who was pilloried ("Canak Has Overstepped His Bounds"—VECERNJE NOVOSTI) as "a direct assistant of the fascist hordes in Croatia." That is what he was called in a 7 November announcement by the Provincial Committee of the SPS [expansion not given] for Vojvodina, the overall vocabulary of which was a call for arrest and lynching: "Canak and his sympathizers are thus openly aligning themselves on the side of the profascist Ustasa policy of the Croatian leadership." Since the SPS named the "state organs" several times, the "organs" could not hold out any longer: On the night between 7 November (the day of the Great October Revolution) and 8 November, sometime around midnight, Nenad Canak was arrested in Novi Sad and brought to the GSUP [City Secretariat for Internal Affairs] for an "informational talk." There, he was handed over to the military police, who informed him that he had been "mobilized," and took him first to the Marshal Tito barracks, and from there to the Majevica barracks, where he was still located on Friday afternoon.

Repression

The regime press did everything possible to denounce Nenad Canak and the peace activists from Senta, Ada, Temerin, Becej, Novi Sad, and other cities in the best tradition of communism: Also playing the card of spreading national hatred at the same time, it called the peace movement in Vojvodina "a fifth column in Serbia, and a conscious or unconscious opening of the door for the humiliation and destruction of the Serbian people"; "dirty and dishonest underhanded dealings in accordance with the approved Siptar prescription"; "the vampire spirit of autonomism"; "stabbing a knife into the back of Serbia and its leadership"; and so forth.

Repression followed in the usual way: Before Nenad Canak was arrested, the military police in Senta broke

into the Crisis Headquarters of the peace movement and took away two activists; the day before, Janos Sabo, the president of the Crisis Headquarters, was taken away in the same way, at a time when he had been given medical assistance because of a heart attack. The Crisis Headquarters in Senta spoke out on Friday, 8 November, in a dramatic announcement about this: "The forces of war have entered into a determined battle against the forces of peace here.... The desperate and nervous, extremely exhausted citizens of Senta are still persisting in their demand for peace, while the forcible recruitment and coercive leading away of Senta's young people for the clay pigeons of an insane and senseless war is still going on."

Things in Backa, however, are developing in their own way: After returning from the front, veterans from Horgos founded the Organization of Veterans and Peace-Loving Citizens, which quickly collected about a hundred members, and is also spreading further. Its founders say that they are bitter about the "fratricidal war in which they no longer want to participate," "the great deceptions by the military authorities," and the fact that every fifth casualty among the Vojvodina reservists is a Hungarian. The Hungarian minority's increasingly more definite position is that it does not want to participate in the ethnic war of the Serbs and Croats, because that war does not affect them. The district committee of the DZVM in Subotica feels and publicly states that "Hungarians should not participate in a war between Slavic peoples," and that therefore more and more of them are fleeing to Hungarian because of their fear of mobilization. The DSHV, which is requesting that Vojvodina Croats refrain from participating in the war, also has a similar position. Things in Vojvodina have been seriously stirred up, and circumstances are being created in which the accumulated frustrations may lead to unforeseeable political consequences.

Slovenia

Kucan: Recognition From Yugoslavia 'Superfluous'

LD1312124391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0053 GMT 13 Dec 91

[Text] Ljubljana, Dec 12 (TANJUG)—Milan Kucan, president of Slovenia, the republic which unilaterally seceded from Yugoslavia, has said that there is no need for Slovenia to seek international recognition from Yugoslavia, as that country, he said, "no longer exists." [Words indistinct] now that Yugoslavia and its authorities no longer exist, it is superfluous to talk about approaching for recognition someone who no longer exists in reality," Kucan told Radio Slovenj Gradec.

President of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) in Bosnia-Hercegovina Radovan Karadzic urged the Slovenia leadership yesterday to ask the Yugoslav Assembly to open a process of recognizing Slovenia's sovereignty and independence. Karadzic said Slovenia could win international recognition only if it was first recognized by Yugoslavia, from which it was breaking away.

Pointing out that Slovenia had sent the federal and all republican parliaments proposals on a peaceful process of dissociation and a negotiated organization of all relations, Kucan said they had been turned down.

"There then remained nothing Slovenia could do but go ahead with its own move to independence." Kucan said.

Peterle To Demand Rupel's Resignation

LD1312093591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1639 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Ljubljana, Dec 12 (TANJUG)—A renewed demand by the prime minister of Slovenia and president of the Christian-Democratic Party of this Yugoslav republic, Lojze Peterle, for the replacement of the republican foreign minister, Dimitrij Rupel, has seriously strained relations within the ruling coalition Demos, and in Slovenia generally.

A rift between Rupel and Peterle to all appearances results from political and inter-party dissensions rather than from Rupel's poor performance as foreign minister.

Peterle stated yesterday that Rupel had gone too far when he told a meeting of his Democratic Party of Slovenia that a new coalition would be formed out of the left parties in the current ruling coalition Demos and of the Liberal-Democatic Party of Slovenia.

This would actually mean the breaking of Demos in its present form, and, above all, the isolation of Peterle's Christian-Democratic Party and Oman's Slovenian Peasants' Union—National Party of Slovenia. Rupel, to be sure, said that a new coalition would be open also for other parties.

Rupel and his circle undoubtedly are most responsible for breaking the coalition Demos, as it is, and its "democratic centralism" that closely resembles the one-time one-party system in its suppressing the freedom of action to certain political parties.

In Slovenia, Demos was created on the eve of the first democratic elections as a coalition of several opposition parties of the left and right orientations, with the common goal to win power and secure complete independence for Slovenia. The goal having been more or less achieved outdates Demos as a coalition of parties with very different programmes.

A deep institutional and programme crisis had long been smouldering within Demos before it became a blaze a few months ago when Rupel's Slovenian Democratic Alliance split into two parties, one of which being the Democratic Party of Slovenia headed by Rupel.

DELO Commentary Criticizes U.S. Policy

92P20072A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
23 Nov 91 p 2

[Commentary by Danilo Slivnik: "Night of Ambassadors"]

[Text] It can usually be said about diplomats that either they do not understand the country they are stationed in or the country does not understand them, or both. It is hard to say, however, that the U.S. ambassador in Belgrade, Warren Zimmerman, does not understand the situation in Yugoslavia, although he evidently does not want to act accordingly. This is especially true of his attitude toward Slovenia and its independence because something bad happens after each one of his visits to Ljubljana. When he arrived on 22 April 1991, international pressure began to be applied against Slovenia to halt its independence. Two weeks after his 14 June visit, war broke out, and when he arrived on 3 October the difficulties at The Hague conference began. What else his latest (Thursday's) visit will bring is not yet known. However, he said directly that the recognition of Slovenia should be postponed for a few weeks into the next year.

Of course, in the diplomatic service it is never clear where the border between the state and the private realms lies or when diplomats willingly (or unwillingly) begin to interfere in the domestic affairs of another state. It seems that Warren Zimmerman has long ago crossed the line at which his purely "official" interest in the solution of the Yugoslav crisis turned into a matter of "personal principles" and that he cannot make heads or tails of this plethora of contradictions. From his talks with republic leaders and from his public statements, it can be concluded that he is by no means ready to accept the changes that have occurred in Yugoslavia in the last months and that he follows to a great degree the principle that either things are done his way (that means the American way) or not at all.... Maybe the whole thing would not be so bad had there not been numerous examples in history of ambassadors from the beginning wrongly assessing situations in countries where they worked. Afterwards they did not know how to correct their mistakes or they did not even dare to admit them. How far Warren Zimmerman has "erred" in this direction is difficult to say. However, it is quite correct to pose the question of who is responsible at this time for the unyielding U.S. policy toward Slovenia and Croatia and who has a greater influence on it, the State Department in Washington or the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade.

Everything gets even more complicated in the context of the recent war in Slovenia, since in its wake no one on the American side officially (and publicly) denied the assertion that U.S. Secretary of State James Baker gave his personal approval to Ante Markovic to take control of the Slovene borders, which the generals took advantage of in their effort to subdue all of Slovenia. Moreover, no one denied the assertions in the press in recent days that some former U.S. diplomats to Yugoslavia, who now occupy high positions in the State Department, as for example, Lawrence Eagleburger and John Scanlane [as published], had connections with U.S. capital in Serbia; the former has allegedly something to do with "Jugoamerika," the latter with Belgrade "Galenika." Lord Carrington is himself allegedly an important shareholder in a British firm that is selling licenses for arms production to "Crvena Zastava." But even if all this is not true, it is an incontestable fact that in the last two years there emerged, in Belgrade, a strong lobby of Western ambassadors who had ties with Serbian and federal circles (especially with Markovic and Loncar) and who quietly worked all the time on behalf of preservation of Yugoslav and Serbian interests. It is known, for example, that all along Loncar had "connections" with Italian Ambassador Sergio Vento, his deputy, Milivoje Maksic, with Chatelais Michel of France, and Ante Markovic himself with Warren Zimmerman, with whom he supposedly met sometimes even twice a week.

Under such circumstances it is fully understandable that the foreign ministries of some countries received only "specific" information on Yugoslavia, and, hence, it was not possible to adopt positions on the independence of Slovenia and Croatia for a long time. Of course, Janez Drnovsek could also have something to say about all this. He too for a long has had very close personal contacts with Zimmerman, who met with him also on Thursday, although it is not yet known what they talked about. But perhaps this is not even important anymore since the events in Yugoslavia, due to some countries (especially Germany), in spite of everything, are developing in such a way that Slovenia and Croatia will sooner or later be recognized internationally, regardless of whether the present strange U.S. policy toward Yugoslavia is managed by Lawrence Eagleburger or Warren Zimmerman....

However, it would be a pity if the latter had to pack his suitcases in Belgrade after the normalization of circumstances, as often happens to ambassadors, or if he ended up like those portrayed in the movies of Costa Gavras, either smoking cigars without knowing what is going on or deposing (foreign) presidents....

Demos Criticizes 'Insufficient' Work at Hague

92BA0216A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
21 Nov 91 p 1

[Article by Majda Vukelic: "Polemics About the Foreign Ministry's Report"—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Excerpts] The Demos deputies criticized the work of the Slovene delegation in The Hague, but the opposition supported it; Dr. Marko Kranjc has been appointed deputy governor of the Bank of Slovenia.

Ljubljana, 20 Nov—The central task in the area of foreign policy is the comprehensive international promotion of Slovenia, and consequently the Assembly thinks that it is necessary to encourage efforts for the international recognition of our state. The Slovene delegation is to continue to participate in the Hague conference, and present an initiative for it to meet and resume as soon as possible. At the conference, the delegation is to advocate peace on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, acceleration of the international recognition of Slovenia, and especially a solution to the issue of the state succession and the balance sheet for distribution.

That is what the deputies from all three chambers of the Slovene Assembly decided at today's joint session, when they discussed the republic's foreign policy situation and adopted special positions and conclusions concerning it which had been prepared by the Commission on International Relations. The opening remarks on this item were delivered by Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel, who informed the deputies about the activities to date and proposed positions for further work in The Hague. In a debate lasting for several hours, the Demos deputies criticized the work to date of the Slovene delegation in The Hague, which they considered insufficient, as shown by the EC sanctions, which also affected us. The opposition asserted the opposite, and judged that today's discussion actually only indicated that the ruling coalition would like to do what it had not done in Poljce—settle accounts with the Democratic Party and Dimitrij Rupel. The dilemma of whether it was even sensible for our delegation to continue working in The Hague was settled by Dr. France Bucar with a proposal that the Commission on International Relations, when it receives a report from the Slovene delegation on the resumption of the conference, should immediately evaluate it and, if necessary, propose that the parliament decide again on whether it would be sensible for us to participate in the Hague conference.

The deputies did not decide today on the draft law on the fund for agricultural land and woods, or on the draft law on the turnover tax, since the government proposed to the Assembly that they be withdrawn from the agenda. They did discuss the proposed changes to the law on the payment of personal incomes, through which the government is proposing that wages be frozen for half a year, until March 1992.

After the chambers' joint session, the deputies also held a working joint session at which they passed the law on denationalization. Until today, only one part of it was still controversial, i.e., the amendment that was only passed by the Chamber of Associated Labor. That amendment provided that an entitled individual would receive compensation in shares from the Slovene compensation fund if real estate could not be returned to him with a property share or with property rights, or if it could not be given into his ownership or possession. The deputies did not accept this addition, but supported the law as a whole with 112 votes. [passage omitted]

[Box, p 1]

In spite of opposition from the Liberal Party, the deputies appointed Dr. Marko Kranjc, finance minister, as deputy governor of the Bank of Slovenia. They did not dismiss Dr. Tone Kosir, the deputy minister for health care, family, and social security. To be sure, the LDS [Liberal Democratic Party] did not oppose his dismissal, but it demanded that the deputies also consider a proposal for the dismissal of Dr. Katja Boh, since the prime minister had publicly promised that he would accept both resignations, which were demanded by health care workers during a strike. Their proposal that the decision on dismissing Tone Kosir be postponed, however, did not receive sufficient support either. [passage omitted]

Drnovsek on Economic Problems, JNA Withdrawal

92BA0215C Ljubljana NEODVISNI DNEVNIK in Slovene 20 Nov 91 p 7

[Article by Jani Alic: "Kadijevic Was In Favor of Withdrawal"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Dr. Janez Drnovsek has provided an abundance of information about our recent history. Slovenia could emerge from its difficulties in two years, and have convertible money in half a year.

Nova Gorica, 20 Nov—"Certain generals were rather adept politicians. General Kadijevic let it be known that after Tito's death they had to watch over the fate of the state and that they would not respect the Presidency's decisions. It was possible to cooperate splendidly with the generals, until the Presidency did not accept their decisions.... When the JA [Yugoslav Army] intervened in Slovenia, the generals and the government of the former Yugoslavia expected only demonstrations by the Slovenes, without any sort of resistance. Markovic opposed the JA's withdrawal, but General Kadijevic told him that they had to withdraw, because the soldiers and officers in Slovenia were blockaded. Kadijevic spoke only of two possibilities: either total attack or withdrawal. He was in favor of withdrawal ." stated Dr. Janez Drnovsek, among other things, in answering a question about Yugoslav generals at a deputies' reception with Borut Pahor (we already reported the conversation yesterday).

Dr. Janez Drnovsek also commented on the statement by Admiral Branko Mamulic that the JA had not withdrawn from Slovenia for good. "I think that aggression cannot be likely, even if the army defeats Croatia.

"That cannot happen, however. Admittedly, from time to time articles appear in the Belgrade press about how the army will return to Slovenia. That army, which is now a Serbian one, can neither win nor lose the war in Croatia."

Regarding Slovenia's future, Dr. Drnovsek said that Slovenia could emerge from its difficulties in two years,

and in half a year it could have convertible money. Now it is no better than in old Yugoslavia, since we have high inflation. Dr. Drnovsek also thought that Slovenia could become a member of the Council of Europe and other European associations in two years. As far as the remaining parts of the former Yugoslavia is concerned, we would have to establish good-neighborly relations. Dr. Drnovsek also warned about the banking system, which has completely collapsed. He also urged saving citizens' foreign exchange deposits, and not through any sort of bonds. That is the only way that citizens would regain their confidence in the banks.

In response to a question about the constitution from Dr. Ciril Ribicic, the guest at the reception answered, "Although I will not participate in drafting the constitution, I think that a constitution is not a history, but ought to contribute common rules for life in the future."

Assembly Limits Number of 'War Refugees'

92BA0215D Ljubljana NEODVISNI DNEVNIK in Slovene 20 Nov 91 p 5

[Article by Meta Roglic: "We Cannot Accept More of Them"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 20 Nov—The Assembly's Defense Commission discussed the war refugees in Slovenia again yesterday. According to the latest data, there are already 21,457 of them on the territory of our republic (if we also counted those who are not registered, the number would be approximately 6,000 higher), and according to Deputy Defense Minister Mirjan Bogataj, in view of our material, organizational, and other capabilities, that many refugees is also the most that we can accept.

That is a decision was adopted yesterday (in view of our overloaded capacity for room and board) to raise the standards for obtaining refugee status, so that it can only be obtained by those who are coming from the most threatened areas and who absolutely require it in these circumstances. The participants in the meeting noted that the agreements that we concluded with Croatia are not being fulfilled by our neighbor (thus, for example, they are still not paying bills for health care). An agreement to house the largest possible number of refugees on the territory of the Republic of Croatia is needed. Also mentioned was assistance from neighboring states, especially in implementing the proposal that they also take a certain number of refugees. The only continuing assistance is assistance from the International Red Cross, but its program will obviously be exhausted soon as well. In order to solve that problem at least partially, the members of the Defense Commission proposed that the competent republic bodies adopt specific measures to secure as much international assistance as possible, especially assistance from the neighboring states.

Otherwise, during the discussion we also heard several proposals about how to obtain the necessary funds for the refugees, how to reduce expenditures.... Thus, they are to consider what the possibilities are like for suitable housing in one of the vacated barracks, how to use the numerous unemployed doctors in providing health services, how to use part of the funds allocated for repairing the damage during the aggression against Slovenia to take care of the refugees.... They also emphasized that it would be necessary to reduce the burden on the families who had taken in refugees.

"If the world public can turn its back on what is happening in Croatia, we, as its closest neighbors, must still help. The Slovene authorities can 'persuade' the Croatian authorities in all sorts of ways to keep their promises; but the Croatian refugees should not have to suffer any more because of this. It will be necessary to take care of these people as long as they have to be in our country—not because of conventions, but because we are people," stated Andrej Vetlic.

Finance Minister Reports on 1992 Draft Budget

92BA0215A Ljubljana NEODVISNI DNEVNIK in Slovene 27 Nov 91 p 4

[Article by Marjan Lacic: "The Republic Budget: 103 Billion Tolars"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Public spending in 1992 will be about 38 percent of the social product; a realistic exchange rate will probably be the best stimulus for exporters.

Ljubljana, 27 November—The draft republic budget for next year will already be available to the deputies in the Slovene Assembly this month. According to Finance Minister Dusan Sesok, they have just succeeded in coordinating it within the government, in spite of universal dissatisfaction. Altogether, budgetary spending in Slovenia next year should be a full 105 billion Slovene tolars [SLT], of which the republic budget should "weigh" 103 billion. The largest share in the budget has been allocated for servicing the public debt (about SLT12 billion) and defense (about SLT10 billion).

The draft budget for 1992, in spite of high nominal figures, is quite "economical," since it only represents somewhat more than 38 percent of the social product—at least in recent years. Times are not good—according to the estimates, the social product next year should be about 6.5 percent lower in real terms; that is why the demands for dividing up the budgetary pie were thoroughly refined within the government. In the next few days, virtually all the ministries will "travel a bloody road" in order to coordinate the desires of the budget's recipients with the real possibilities. According to Minister Sesok, in the present draft budget it is only possible to make a slight reduction in the public debt item and a slight increase in the defense item, which will also be discussed on Friday at the Republic Presidency's meeting.

The most significant sources for the budget are the turnover tax (SLT35 billion), tariffs and import taxes (SLT30 billion), and the income tax (SLT10 billion). In spite of this, according to Minister Sesok, the reduction

in tax and tariff burdens that was started this year is supposed to continue next year as well. Of course, it will be necessary to collect future taxes and contributions considerably better than this year. Minister Sesok emphasized in this regard that taxes could even have been somewhat lower if the majority had paid as they should have. Minister Sesok also stated that some people had proposed additional taxation upon the immediate resale of apartments, but the government will not propose this.

How much is to be allocated from the budget for some individual items? The largest defense expenditures next year are to include a military conscription of about 15,000 recruits, although in spite of everything, relatively less than in the past will be provided for the "army" next year. In the draft 1992 budget, defense funds represent 3.7 percent of the social product, but in the past that percentage has been 4.5. One of the largest items in the budget is to be the servicing of public debt—next year the state is supposed to take over about 200 million German marks in obligations from Slovene foreign exchange depositors. The budget does not provide for any special stimulus for the economy, but the stimulus is supposed to be the already announced financial rehabilitation of the banking system, and in any case, according to Minister Sesok, a realistic exchange rate should be the best stimulus for exporters. The budget will not include funds for health care, since we are shifting to a new system in this area next year. In accordance with the establishment of the international statehood of the Republic of Slovenia, a large part of the budgetary pie is also supposed to be received by the Foreign Ministry.

Lack of Resources in Coast Guard Noted

92BA0216B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
21 Nov 91 p 10

[Article by Joze Biscak: "We Still Will Not Have an Effective Coast Guard Anytime Soon"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Slovenia's maritime borders are guarded by two ships, but organizing a coast guard and purchasing modern equipment requires large financial resources.

Koper, 20 Nov—From the border with the Republic of Italy to the border with the Republic of Croatia, Slovenia has a coast 43 kilometers long. The crews of the ONZ [expansion unknown] naval militia are controlling the maritime border at sea, as agreed with the neighboring republic. Since the maritime border with the latter is still not accurately determined, our militiamen are controlling the area from the Dragonja River to the cape of Savudrija and further on to the last border point with Italy, so that the length of the border with Croatia is 17.5 nautical miles, and the one with Italy is 26.6 nautical miles.

Janko Sever, the chief of the Koper ONZ, says that now that the JA [Yugoslav Army] has finally withdrawn from Slovenia, all sorts of things have fallen onto their shoulders. Thus, with two rather old patrol boats (an M44 and an M45), they have to guard the state border at sea (control our vessels and foreign ones in coastal waters, because Slovenia does not have international waters), prevent illegal crossings of the state border at sea and smuggling, identify and monitor all types of underwater activities, monitor fishing and prevent illegal fishing, monitor boating near beaches, and offer assistance to people at sea.

All of these powers, to be sure, are at a European level, but the maritime militia's technology and equipment are not. According to Janko Sever, they are still negotiating about buying a new patrol boat, which is still far from easy. In the first place, there is the problem of money, which is always lacking (a new ship would cost approximately 2 billion lire), along with how the ship should be equipped and how big it should be, and also what it will be intended for. Specifically, as stated by Mirko Slukan, the commander of the border militia station, there is no general-purpose ship that could be used both for protecting the border and for catching smugglers, and for rescuing people and ships at sea. For an effective coast guard, which Slovenia probably will not have for a considerable time to come, since organizing one requires large financial resources, it would be necessary to have several types of boats—from interception boats (motor boats) to rescue boats. The current two boats, in addition to certain shortcomings (among other things, they are not intended for rescue operations), cannot even guarantee the safety of the crew itself (in strong winds and high waves).

The same thing applies to smuggling. The maritime militia can hardly prevent it at sea, since the violators have faster boats, and furthermore smugglers have a very well-organized intelligence network, so that they know immediately when the patrol is at sea. For that reason, Janko Sever stated, it is particularly important to have the work coordinated with the land-based militia, and they are also helped a great deal by citizens, who report to them immediately if something suspicious is happening at sea. According to Mirko Slukan, the crew also has some "tricks in store," which we will not betray for the sake of their effectiveness.

[Box, p 10]

Slovenia has three border crossings at sea, namely Koper, Izola (seasonal), and Piran (for yacht traffic), which would be the largest in collapsing Yugoslavia. This year 1,625 ships and 10,865 yachts passed through those crossings.

Commercial Radio To Operate in Ljubljana

92BA0216C Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
21 Nov 91 p 8

[Article by Zdenko Matoz: "New Radio Wave for Entrepreneurs"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 20 Nov—The Ljubljana region will soon receive one more local radio station, the "Business Wave." The headquarters of the new radio station will be in the Vic-Rudnik opstina, and the founders are the private enterprise Audio and the Institute for Technical Education in Ljubljana. At today's meeting, the Vic executive council gave its consent for the establishment of this radio station for entrepreneurs.

Business Wave's program will be intended for a rapid flow of information, primarily for entrepreneurs and businessman, i.e., for the economy, but it should also be adapted for a broader audience. The radio station will broadcast its program 24 hours a day, encourage entrepreneurship, provide media support for the economy, and accompany its listeners at work and at rest. Above all, it will try to provide entrepreneurs with all the information that is important for the business world.

Business Wave will also be regulated entrepreneurially, since it will be a commercial radio station that will finance itself and will thus be part of the target group for which it is intended. Because its planned program, it should not be competition for other national media. The founders will obtain the start-up capital through business contracts on cooperation in the project, and through bank loans.

The radio station for entrepreneurs will provide news, announce business and political events, and bring news from exchange rate lists, news about interest rates, and other banking information. It will also provide the demand and supply for money, and will have an exchange for movable property and real estate, a service exchange, and a personnel exchange. The radio station will also compare trade, services, and products, and also report on prices in the food market, the car market, and in special events.